## THE MUSEUM

of

## FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

(Östasiatiska Samlingarna)

STOCKHOLM. Ostasiatiska samling



Bulletin N:o 14

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# TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS GUSTAF ADOLF

CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN

this volume is respectfully dedicated on his 60th birthday

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## THE DATE OF THE EARLY DONG-SO'N CULTURE

BY

#### BERNHARD KARLGREN

The existence of a great number of bronze drums of a peculiar type in South-Eastern Asia has long been a matter for interest and research among Western scholars. There is already an extensive literature on the subject. The fundamental work was the large treatise by Franz Heger: Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien 1902, and various later authors have continued Heger's investigations (Parmentier, Goloubew a. o.). Heger established four principal classes of drums, of which the primary and oldest is what Heger called Type I, characterized by its general shape: a bulbous upper section, a vertical, often slightly concave middle trunk, a conical foot (e. g. our pls. 1, 6). His later categories II—IV do not concern the present paper.

Within Type I Heger singled out a few drums as constituting the oldest class, from which all the rest derive. These primary drums of type I are characterized by very elaborate pictures of boats and of men adorned with bird shapes on their heads. In the later specimens of Type I these figures of men have been so corruptted as to be quite unrecognizable — indeed they are merely meaningless figures which would be quite unintelligible if the older drums with clear figures of men were not at our disposal as a key to their evolution. These later »degenerated» drums will not be discussed here — it is sufficient to refer to Heger's very thorough analysis and classification.

The oldest drums of type I to be debated here are seven:

- A. The Mu'o'ng drum (which Heger also calls the Moulié drum) found in the Mu'o'ng country of Indo-China; the drum is now lost, known only through Heger's drawings and rubbings. Pls. 1—2. Height 610 mm.
- B. The Yünnan drum (which Heger also callas the Gillet I drum). Very similar to the preceding, as described by Heger. Known to have come from Yünnan. Now lost. Height 535 mm.
- C. The Ngoc-lu' drum (now in Hanoi). Described in detail by Parmentier (BEFEO 1918) and Goloubew (BEFEO 1929). Known to have been found in Ngoc-lu', in the province of Ha-nam in Tongking, Pls. 3—4. Height 630 mm.
- D. The Laos drum (now in Hanoi). Known to have come from the Laos country. Described by Goloubew (BEFEO 1929). Pl. 5. Height 580 mm.

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- E. The North-Tongking drum, now in the Völkerkundemuseum, Vienna. Illustrated in Ostas. Zeitschr. 1934, pl. 17 photos too poor to bear a renewed reproduction. (An application on my part to the director of the Museum for better photos met with a flat refusal).
- F. The Tongking drum in Stockholm (now in the MFEA). Acquired in Hanoi by professor J. G. Andersson, through the kind offices of M. V. Goloubew. Known to be from Tongking, but no further data, therefore here simply called the "Tongking drum in Stockholm". Height 420 mm., diam. 530 mm. Pls. 6—7.
- G. The Saleier drum, kept on the island of Saleier, near Celebes, where it was excavated. How it came to be exported so far to the South is unknown. Described in detail by Heger. Pl. 8. These illustrations are after S. S. W. Hoevell in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie XVI, 1904. They are photos after draw-

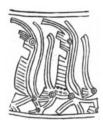


Fig. 1.

ings. These are, on the whole, far superior to the drawings of the same drum given in Heger. Yet some details come out clearer in Heger's drawing; such, for instance, as our fig. 1 (= Heger pl. 32:1) of a figure on the side of the drum.

The last mentioned, the Saleier drum, does not belong to the same very earliest group as A—F. It has several features that place it somewhat later: on the one hand, there are frogs in the round on the disc, which are lacking on the earliest 6 drums; on the other hand, the man figures with bird plumes on their heads are already badly degenerated (see fig. 1 above),

though far from so strongly corrupted and entirely unrecognizable as in the later drums of Type I (see Heger's many illustrations). The ornamentation of the disc, moreover, is closely cognate to that of A—F, and the G drum, though posterior to A—F, therefore deserves to be discussed together with them. The decorative motifs on these seven drums have been extensively analysed and discussed by Heger, Parmentier and Goloubew, and we shall revert to them presently.

The greatest step towards placing these early drums of type I in their proper archaeological and chronological context was taken by Goloubew (V. Goloubew, L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam, BEFEO 1929), as a consequence of the excavations of M. Pajot in 1924 in Dong-so'n, a village in the province of Thanh-hoa. Pajot discovered a large number of graves (Goloubew speaks of »la vaste nécropole de Dong-so'n») containing a rich bronze-age material, described in detail by Goloubew. The most important points here were the following:

In one of the graves was found a drum, of smaller size (height 275 mm.) than the drums A—G, and with a much simpler décor (our pl. 10: 1, 2 = Gol. pl. VII), yet unmistakably of the same general type, type I of Heger's. In the Dong-so'n graves were found some asymmetrical (\*boot-shaped\*) axes (our pl. 9), which were decorated with exactly the same \*bird-men\* as all our drums A—F.

There were several other minor points of contact. As such it may be mentioned

that the \*boot-shaped \* axes of Dong-so'n agree in form with those depicted on the early drums (e. g. pl. 4, bottom line, to the right); again that the décor element \*circle with tangent \*, occurring so profusely on the drums, is just as characteristic of many Dong-so'n specimens, especially the \*situlae\*. From all this Goloubew drew the legitimate and indeed inevitable conclusion that our drums of Type I belonged to the same bronze-age culture as the finds in Dong-so'n, which culture, as a whole, therefore, should be named \*the Dong-so'n culture \* (on an analogy with names like \*Hallstatt culture \*, \*) la Tène culture \*, \*\* \*Huai culture \* etc.).

Goloubew then proceeded to determine the age of the Dong-so'n finds on the one hand, and of the early drums on the other. For this he had as points-d'appui certain objects found in the Dong-so'n graves, which were obviously of Chinese make, being indeed inported goods from the great neighbour in the North and North-East, China. Of such objects he adduces the following:

- a. A Chinese sword (our pl. 10: 3—5), of which Goloubew says: »A beautiful sword of the Han time». He continues, however, with a commentary which does not quite tally with this: »The swords of this type are generally attributed, by the Chinese antiquarians, to the Chou epoch, but it is more than probable that most of them do not go further back than Ts'in (i. e. the latter part of the 3rd c. B. C.), for it is only at the end of the 3rd c. B. C. that the use becomes general in China of the Siberian two-edged sword». In a note Goloubew also points out the similarity of the Dong-so'n sword with the famous Li-yü swords.
  - b. A fragmentary mirror (our pl. 10: 6) »in pure Han style ».
- c. A flat Hu (our pl. 10: 7), likewise attributed by Goloubew, after similar specimens adduced by Voretzsch, to »the Han epoch».
- d. A »Yu» (rather a Hu) (our pl. 10:8), »equally of the Han epoch». Goloubew, however, makes some reservations as to the Chinese origin of the specimen, because the casting »seam» strongly visible on the vessel appears to him to be quite unusual on Han bronzes.
- e. Coins. A great many wu-s h u coins, and, even more important, also some Wang Mang coins (period 9—23 A. D.).

The conclusion which Goloubew draws from these imported goods is the following (p. 11): "The date of the Dong-so'n necropolis seems thus to come to the middle or the second half of the 1st c. A. D."

So far Goloubew's chronological argumentation is indisputably right. If there really were Wang Mang coins in one or several graves, that or those graves cannot be anterior to the 1st c. A. D.

Goloubew, however, goes one important step further and places the early bronze drums of Type I, along with the Dong-so'n finds, equally in the 1st c. A. D. Having described in detail the Ngoc-lu' drum (C in our list) and its affinities with the Dong-so'n bronzes, he continues (p. 42): »It remains to point out to the reader .... a big drum of Type I. — Discovered in a rice field in Laos. .. it was incorporated in 1924 in the collections of the Ecole Française (this is our »Laos drum»,

D in our list above). ... It is in all respects a specimen of exceptional value, deserving to figure by the side of the famous drum acquired in 1903 (i. e. the Ngoc-lu' drum, C.) Besides, it shows more than one point of resemblance with the latter. The analogies are even such that we do not hesitate to attribute it (sc. the Laos drum, D) to the Dong-so'n art and to date it in the 1st c. A. D.».

Goloubew reverts to the question in 1932, in order to corroborate his conclusion that the early drums of Type I belong to the Dong-so'n milieu of the 1st c. A. D. He writes (Sur l'origine et la diffusion des tambours métalliques; in: Praehistoria Asiae Orientalis I, 1932, p. 139): "Though admitting for these (the bronze drums) an Indo-Chinese provenience, I could not make up my mind to reduce to insignificance the part in their ornamentation and technical execution which must be attributed to artisans who came from China. I therefore proposed to see, in the big drum of the Hanoi museum (i. e. the Ngoc-lu' drum, C) and in other specimens of the same kind, products of a manufacture tributary to the Chinese metallurgy and art, and probably contemporaneous with the epoch when the empire of the Eastern Han affirmed its military supremacy over Tonkin through the occupation of Kiu-chen, the present Than-hoa». He substantiates this view with a reference to décor elements which are of a Han flavour: »All or nearly all the drums. known at present, of Type I, have ornaments which one finds on Chinese bronzes. such as "comb teeth", saw teeth, hachures, straight or slanting meanders. In the carefully worked specimens, the skilful arrangement of these ornaments in circular zones or bands is not without analogy with the disposition of these same motifs on the metallic mirrors of the Han, so that it seems logical to suppose a loan ».1) And Goloubew goes on to compare some bird representations on the drums with bird pictures on the Shantung grave slabs reproduced by Chavannes (Mission Archéologique) and on a tile which Sirén has declared (without stating any reasons) to be »Han». I confess that to me the dissimilarity of these bird representations is greater than the similarity.

In an article in RAA 1937 R. Heine-Geldern proposed dating the earliest phase of the Dong-so'n culture nearly a millennium earlier, i. e. circa 800 B. C., for reasons



<sup>1)</sup> Ibid. p. 140. And he continues in a note: The analogy between the solar discs, found in such great numbers in Northern Europe, and the Han mirrors is evident, and this permits us to establish certain rapprochements, with China as an intermediary, between the décor of these discs and that on the t'ong-kou (i. e. bronze drums).... Of very great interest, because of its similarity with the décor of the metal drums, is the ornamentation on a gold disc in the Copenhagen Museum, to which M. Coedès has been kind enough to draw my attention: you observe not only the central star but also several zones with concentric circles, hachures and saw-teeth, (G. refers to an article by Jacob-Friesen, Ipek 1931, fig. 26). — This deduction does not hold good. As we shall see presently, the Han mirrors never have the central star in its true form, such as it appears both in the Danish gold disc and on the Type I drums, but only a very corrupted variant of it. Therefore Han China cannot have served as sintermediary, here. Besides, the discrepancy in space and time (the Danish disc belongs to the 2nd period of the Nordic bronze age) is such as absolutely to forbid this rapprochement.

to which we shall revert below. But this has not convinced Goloubew, for he repeats his dating (1st c. A. D.) in a small summary: »Art et archéologie de l'Indochine» (Hanoi 1938).

While it must be admitted as obviously undeniable that one or several graves of the Dong-so'n necropolis must be dated as late as the 1st c. A. D., on account of the Wang Mang coins, the conclusion that the early drums of Type I are of the same age seems very far from being sufficiently substantiated. It is regrettable that no real account of Pajot's Dong-so'n excavations has been published as yet. The brief notice by Pajot in BEFEO XXVII p. 466 ff. says really nothing at all. Somewhat fuller information is given by Goloubew in a pamphlet: L'archéologie du Tonkin et les fouilles de Dong-so'n 1937, but it leaves some questions of paramount importance unanswered. During O. Janse's systematically conducted excavations in 1936 on the Dong-so'n site no objects that are clearly datable (such as the Wang Mang coins above) seem to have been brought to light.<sup>1</sup>)

The lack of reliable data concerning the crucial points of Pajot's finds places us in an awkward position when trying to estimate the purport of these finds. Were the Wang Mang coins (and the Wu-shu coins) as well as the above-mentioned Chinese \*Han\* specimens (the sword, two Hu flasks, the mirror) found in one grave or in several? And how do these graves stand, from the point of view of excavation conditions, in relation to the other graves which did not (?) contain such objects (Goloubew's phrase \*the vast necropolis of Dong-so'n \*suggests a considerable number of graves)? It is obvious that, if there were many graves, they need not all have belonged to one brief period, such as \*the middle or latter part of the 1st c. A. D.\*, but may very well extend over several generations, perhaps several centuries — indeed this seems the most likely.

Let us start with the points d'appui furnished by Goloubew. The Wang-mang and Wu-shu coins need no further commentaries. The fragmentary mirror (our pl. 10:6) can now be definitely dated: after an extensive investigation of early Chinese mirrors, I have been able to date this mirror category with a good deal of certainty in the 1st c. B. C. (BMFEA 13, p. 112, pl. 77). The flat Hu flask with an \*onion-shaped \* top (pl. 10:7) also belongs to the Han era (a very elastic dating, that era comprising 4 centuries!), since Lo Chen-yü, in his album Cheng sung t'ang ki kin t'u (1935), vol. hia, pl. 10, depicts an almost identical flask with a few characters in Han-time script.

The sword (our pl. 10: 3—5) is not, as Goloubew would have it, »a belle epée du temps des Han». As already pointed out by Goloubew himself, it is very closely cognate to the Li-yü swords (our pl. 11: 3, 6), which bear a pre-Han inscription. The swords found in the Lo-yang graves (Kin-ts'un), (White: Tombs pl. 67, our pl. 11: 2, 5) datable inside the limits circa 450—230 B. C. (see BMFEA 10, p. 80)



<sup>1)</sup> O. Janse, Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine III, RAA 10, 1936.

are so like the Dong-so'n sword that they might all have come from one and the same work-shop. A sword in the collection of H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden (pl. 11: 4), which bears a pre-Han inscription (reproduced in BMFEA 2, p. 108) belongs to exactly the same typological category. Another sword, in the same collection, belonging to the same typological class and therefore certainly of pre-Han date, has a décor (our pl. 11: 7) which reminds us very strongly of that of the Dong-so'n sword. For other similar swords with pre-Han inscriptions, see BMFEA 2, Janse pl. III: 1 (Hallwyl coll.) and Koop, Early Chinese Bronzes, pl. 64: C (Seligman coll.). It would be easy to continue this list. On the other hand, there are no swords of this category among the rich finds of the Japanese excavations in Korea, dating from the Eastern Han epoch.

The tall Hu (our pl. 10: 8), from which the chain is missing, is likewise a pre-Han (Huai style) vessel. It should be compared with the bronze Hu (our pl. 11: 1) from the Lo-yang (Kin ts'un) graves (White pl. 107). Though the neck is different, the division into zones, the bottom pattern and the big saw-teeth décor on the neck are identical, and it is important to observe that here too the cast "seam" is clearly visible, as on the Dong-so'n Hu. The MFEA possesses a Hu quite similar to the Lo-yang specimen, and on the bottom, between the "warts", there is a very fine pattern of clearly pre-Han type (interlacing of dragons); on that vessel, too, there is a strongly protruding "seam".

We are thus able to state that the Dong-so'n graves contained, besides the numerous artifacts of local manufacture, the following purely Chinese specimens: coins of the Wang Mang period (9—23 A. D.); a mirror of the 1st c. B. C.; a flat Hu of the Han epoch (206 B. C. — 220 A. D.): one Hu and one sword of the pre-Han period (the Huai style epoch), 4th—3rd c. B. C. at the latest.

This gives us a picture of the cultural milieu in Dong-so'n totally different from that given by Goloubew. It is inconceivable that Chinese bronzes of the 4th -3rd c. B. C. could have been first preserved on Chinese soil for 4 centuries and then exported to Dong-so'n in the 1st c. A. D., and there immediately buried. It is quite obvious that the graves which contained the Wang Mang coins represent a late phase of a culture in Dong-so'n which had flourished there for several centuries; from time to time in the course of these centuries there had been occasional and rare imports of Chinese bronze objects. This is why we find a row of Chinese specimens of such divergent ages: 4th—3rd c. B. C. — 1st c. B. C. — 1st. c. A. D. This does not necessarily mean that some of the graves in Dong-so'n are to be dated quite as early as the 4th—3rd c. B. C. Imported Chinese treasures were surely not buried immediately but were used by the living for some time, before they were deposited as gifts in the graves. On the other hand, it is hardly likely that even those imported specimens from the 4th-3rd c. B. C. were kept and used for four centuries before they were buried in the Dong-so'n settlement. There is every probability that the Dong-so'n graves extend over a considerable period, some of them being much earlier than the 1st c. A. D., others being posterior to Wang Mang and hence dating from that century.

The finds of native artifacts in Dong-so'n point in quite the same direction. Besides a considerable number of miniature drums (of Type I, see Goloubew 1929, pl. 8), poorly made with a very simple and coarse décor, and obviously cast for the purpose of being buried as grave gifts (the ming-k'i of the Chinese), there was one bigger drum of good quality (our pl. 10: 1, 2, height 275 mm., Goloubew 1929, pl. 7). In contrast to the coarse miniature drums, made for the direct purpose of serving as grave gifts, this drum was probably not cast for the purpose of immediate burial, but must reasonably have been in use for some time before being deposited in a grave. Its date of manufacture may thus be expected to have been Western Han time. Be this as it may. The argument is not necessarily conclusive. But a much more important and decisive point about the drum is that this bigger drum, though a fine specimen of Type I, is considerably smaller and much simpler in its décor scheme than the big primary drums (A-G above) of this category. It has the same shape, and some décor elements in common with them (the central star, circles with tangents, flying birds of the same type as drums C and F), but it lacks the fundamental feature of the early drums: the boat scenes and the »bird-men». Moreover, instead of the rich variety of patterns in the narrow concentric zones of the early drums, we find here, monotonously repeated, a very simple and poor pattern of rows of small raised squares (the sides of the drum have simply parallel raised lines). (A very similar drum excavated by Janse in Dong-so'n comes very close, in shape and simple décor, to this first bigger Dongso'n drum, see RAA 1936, pl. 12). Altogether, it is quite easy to realize that it represents a decidedly later phase in the evolution of the drums of type I than our big primary drums A-F. Then, again, there are the beautifully decorated luxus axes (our pl. 9), with \*bird-men \* and deer figures, from the Dong-so'n graves: these are stylistically absolutely parallel with the earliest drums (A-F), and therefore typologically earlier than the big drum just mentioned (pl. 10) from a Dong-so'n grave. Here again — as was the case with the Chinese imported objects — we arrive at a probable age gradation of the native Dong-so'n material: oldest: the luxus axes — intermediate: the bigger Dong-so'n drum — most recent: the miniature drums and various simple and commonplace everyday tools, which are reasonably contemporaneous with the latter.

Consequently, all these considerations, those concerning the imported specimens as well as those dealing with the native Dong-so'n products, lead up to this: the Dong-so'n culture, from its earliest stage (that of the primary drums A—F and the luxus axes) to its latest stage (dated by the Wang Mang coins) — in contradistinction to Goloubew's theory, which dates it as a whole in the 1st c. A. D. — must have flourished during a considerable period, certainly a good many centuries.

The appearance of Chinese pre-Han specimens in the Dong-so'n graves points backwards to pre-Han times, the 4th or 3rd centuries B. C. at least, for the begin-

nings of the Dong-so'n culture. We must beware of being led astray from this conclusion by the historical facts of official Chinese and Indo-Chinese intercourse. It is very tempting to look for data — as Goloubew has done — in the Chinese histories about the earliest intercourse (friendly missions and wars of conquest) between these cultural areas and date the Dong-so'n culture in the period of the first great Chinese conquests in Indo-China. But this mode of reasoning is decidedly unsatisfactory. Though Dong-so'n is the first find-place of the Dong-so'n culture to be archaeologically explored, we know for certain that Dong-so'n was but one corner of a great area in all of which the Dong-so'n culture flourished. Of the earliest drums (A-G), one was found in Yünnan, one in Mu'o'ng, one in Laos and three in Tongking (one exported to Saleier near Celebes). The comprehensive area of the Dong-so'n culture was thus, in its northernmost parts, not far distant from the great cultural area of the Chinese Huai style (some typical Huai style finds have repeatedly been made as far South as Ch'ang-sha in Hu-nan, see the Ch'un-yü bell in the MFEA illustrated in BMFEA 6, pl. 28; also J. Cox, An Exhibition of Chinese Antiquities from Ch'ang-sha, 1939), and it is quite evident that unofficial intercourse and exchange of cultural elements (both ideas and elements of the material culture) must have taken place long before the historical Chinese conquests in Indo-China in the Han era.

These considerations lead up to the principal theme of our investigation. Goloubew has admitted that there are considerable affinities between the Dong-so'n art and the Chinese art. This is an indubitable fact. But whereas Goloubew, as stated above, has tried to show connections in art motifs between Dong-so'n and the art of the Middle and late Han, I am convinced that the affinities are rather between early Dong-so'n and the Huai style art (pre-Han).

Let us start with the minor motifs.

- 1. The central star. This is a very ancient Chinese motif. On the horse's forehead ornament (pl. 11: 8) in the Hellström collection we find it in Yin or Yin-Chou art (the dragons with \*bottle-shaped \*) horns prove that the bronze cannot be later than circa 950 B. C.). On the inlaid plaque in pl. 20: 4, excavated at An-yang (Ye chung p'ien yü er tsi, 7), we find it on a Yin dynasty specimen. In the Huai art we meet it very frequently, in a slightly modified form (rounded inner parts), on mirrors, e. g. pl. 12: 4 (Staatl. Mus. Berlin), 3rd c. B. C., and pl. 19: 3 (a Japanese collection), likewise 3rd c. B. C. (see BMFEA 13). This element, the central star, became obsolete with the end of the Huai period, and does not occur in its genuine form on the mirrors of the Han epoch. The central star has there been moved out half-way on the disc and turned into shallow arcs, e. g. Umehara, Shina Kodo Seikwa, mirror vol. pl. 53—57, which places it quite far from the type of the central star on the drums.
- 2. A granulation line as filling of a band. Passim on the drums A—F, see pls. 1—4, 7. This is one of the most important Huai-style elements, particularly com-



mon on mirrors, but also on other bronzes. We have it, for instance, in pl. 12: 2 (MFEA, 4th c. B. C.). The fine Kuei pl. 12: 7 (Shi er kia ki kin t'u lu 12: 4) has a décor on the vessel closely akin to the Middle Chou style, though the technique is Huai-icized, and the script of its inscription determines it as being not later than the 7th-6th c. B. C.; on the foot of the Kuei there is a pattern shown in a rubbing (pl. 12:6), in which the dragon figure is bordered by such a granulation band. Again, the bell with a pre-Han inscription (Pl. 12:5, Sumitomo coll.) has the same motif, and so has the whorl circle detail (pl. 12:3) from the abovementioned Ch'un-yü bell found in Ch'ang-sha (MFEA). Another ex. is the Huai bell pl. 13:9 (Sumitomo coll). This motif, which did not exist in Yin, Yin-Chou or Middle Chou, but is a frequent pattern in Huai, is an idea from the Ordos animal style, borrowed by the Huai style (see Karlgren, BMFEA 9, p. 100, Andersson, BMFEA 4, pl. 11: 4, Salmony, Sino-Siberian art, pl. 24: 5 etc. — common). Western Han time it is entirely obsolete. In Eastern Han it is occasionally revived, e. g. on the famous »Painted Basket» from Lo-lang (Hamada, The Tomb of Painted Basket 1934), but it is on the whole exceedingly rare. In short, this motif, so common on the early drums, is one of the regular and familiar features of the Huai style but a sporadic phenomenon in late Han art.

- 3. Two-stranded loose plait. The plait-pattern in one of its versions consists of two strands so loosely twisted round each other as to seem not to touch each other. This is extremely common in the Huai style. We have it in plastic form in some handles of the Lo-yang (Kin-ts'un) find (pl. 13: 5), and as a motif on bronzes it is very frequently met with. An example is the mirror pl. 12: 1 (Hallwyl coll.) 6th c. B. C. In the Li yü find, most of the specimens bear it (pl. 13: 6). This plait pattern, unknown in Yin, Yin-Chou and Middle Chou, is likewise probably an Ordos motif borrowed by the Huai style (Karlgren, after Griessmaier, BMFEA 9, p. 100, with examples). On the drum G (our pl. 8), 2nd zone from the central circle of the disc, we have it in a slightly squared execution. This element is so rare in Han art as to be practically non-existent.
- 4. The zigzag-filled band on drum C. (pl. 3, second zone from the left in the lower photo) is really nothing but a modification and corruption of the preceding motif. It is common in Huai. We can study its birth from the two-stranded plait in pl. 13. In 13: 1 (MFEA) we recognize the plait in the inner band, but the outer band is already well on its way to becoming the zigzag-filled band. And in 13: 3 (Hallwyl coll.) the latter evolution is carried through entirely. Other examples are 13: 2, which is a detail from a Huai Ting tripod, of pre-Han time (cf. Karlgren BMFEA 13, p. 11) in the Eumorfopoulos coll. (Eum. Cat. I: 3); pl. 13: 7 is a Huai wheel-axle cap in the Hallwyl coll. (from Ku-shī hien). The Huai character of this motif is thus amply attested.
- 5. The saw-teeth pattern. Ubiquitous on the drums A—G (pl. 1—8). In regard to this motif, Goloubew has the advantage of me insofar that this pattern is exceedingly common on the Han time mirror discs, but does not exist on pre-Han



mirrors. In this respect, therefore, the drum discs have a greater similarity to Han than to pre-Han mirrors. (This, on the other hand, is outweighed by the fact that the central star of the drum discs has better analogies on Huai mirrors than on Han mirrors). The absence of the saw-teeth pattern on Huai mirrors does not, however, mean that the motif was unknown in pre-Han time. On the contrary, though not belonging to the grammar of the mirrors, it is exceedingly common in Huai art. We find it, for instance, on a bell in the Sumitomo coll. (pl. 13:9) in high Huai style. Further, on the flat Hu in the Pilster coll. (pl. 13: 8). There are, indeed, scores of examples. An interesting triple saw-teeth pattern (pl. 14:3) on as early a vessel as a Ting tripod from Sin-cheng (Sin cheng yi k'i, pl. 28) brings us back to the 6th c. B. C. In a broader version we have it on the famous Sincheng gold sheet (pl. 13:4), cf BMFEA 7: Andersson pl. 17-18. The saw-teeth pattern is such a simple and commonplace motif in all decorative art that it is almost ubiquitous; Hanna Rydh (BMFEA 1) has adduced examples of it in the most varying cultures all over the world. In Chinese art, however, it seems to derive from the »hanging blade» and »rising blade» element in the Yin and subsequent styles (Cf BMFEA 6, pl. 7 etc.).

6. Slanting-stroke band or rope pattern. Single or double. On the early drums, see pls. 1, 4, 6.

In the Huai style this is very common. Single, we have it on the Sin cheng gold sheet (pl. 13: 4); on a mirror of the 3rd c. B. C. (Lagrelius coll. pl. 14: 2); on a Ting tripod in high Huai style of pre-Han date in Mrs. Holmes' coll. (detail pl. 14: 1). Double, we have it, for instance, on a bottle of the Li-yü find (pl. 13: 6), etc. — exceedingly common. I have admitted, after Griessmaier, that this motif, which was unknown in Yin, Yin-Chou and Middle Chou, was due to an Ordos influence (BMFEA 9, p. 103, with examples). If, as I believe, this is right, it testifies to the early age of such Ordos—China influences, since we already find the motif on the Sin cheng gold sheet.

7. The double S-shaped spiral, the running spiral and the meander. These closely related motifs are of fundamental importance in the Dong-so'n art. Isolated S spirals do not happen to be represented on the early drums, but they occur frequently in the Dong-so'n finds, e. g. the buckle in pl. 14: 6. We have them on drum G, combined into running spirals (pl. 8). This motif, both as free and as connected S spirals, is extremely common in the Huai style. Pl. 14: 7 is a rubbing of a detail from the spout of a Yi (»sauce-boat»), with a pre-Han inscription (Shi er kia ki kin t'u lu, Pao 16) — observe the great affinity with the Dong-so'n buckle just quoted (Pl. 14: 6). Pl. 14: 5 shows a bronze axle-cap inlaid with silver, from the Lo-yang (Kin-ts'un) find (White pl. 9). Pl. 14: 4 is a detail from a pre-Han Ting in the Fujii coll. (Umehara, Senkoku pl. 40). Examples could be adduced by scores. Combined into running spirals the motif is just as common. Pl. 14: 9 is a detail from a Huai style Ho in the Buckingham coll., Chicago (Umehara, Senkoku pl. 63). Pl. 14: 8 is a plaque in C. T. Loo coll. Pl. 15: 4 is a dress-hook in the Hallwyl coll.

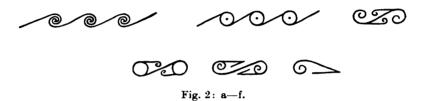
The running spiral, broken into right angles, gives the true meander, and we meet this in several variations on the early drums of the Dong-so'n culture, (pls. 1, 8). A corresponding »squared» running spiral is rare in China, the rounded shape being absolutely dominant. Yet examples of the former are not entirely lacking. Pl. 15: 1 has a most typical and regular meander, though its inner volutes are adapted to become dragon figures (Metropolitan Museum, New York). The vessel is in early Huai style. A still earlier example (pl. 15: 6), upper band on a Hien, in the possession of the Chinese Government, belongs even to the Middle Chou style (cf. Ill. Cat. Chin. Govt. Exh. London, I, pl. 4). Something intermediate between the wholly round running spiral and the square meander is found in pl. 14: 1. In one early Dong-so'n example (drum A), the square meander pattern has been embellished by the addition of circles at the narrow transitional parts (pl. 1, lower half). This arrangement, again, reminds us strongly of a very frequent disposition of the décor on Huai-style dress-hooks, e. g. pl. 15: 5 (Hallwyl coll.).

It is important, for reasons to which we shall revert below, to emphasize that the double S-shaped spiral in Chinese art is not an innovation in the Huai style, but a feature directly taken over by the Huai style from the earlier periods, and that it is already a fundamental motif in Yin time. The spiral as such is there ubiquitous. As a back-ground filling it is most frequent in the shape of a T arranged as a double spiral, but the S spiral is particularly frequent and important as a principal pattern in narrower bands, e. g. pl. 15: 2, the lower part of a Ku (Gutmann, Berlin) in high Yin B style (there are scores of examples of this kind). In Middle Chou the S spiral was often elegantly adapted as an animal figure (dragon, bird) e. g. pl. 15: 8, a beautiful Fu tray in the Crown Prince collection. But it is also very common as a purely geometrical element especially on Middle Chou bells, and in pl. 15:3 we find it as the principal décor theme on a P'an with a Middle Chou inscription (Heng hien ki kin lu 88). In short, the S spiral belongs to the fundamental and elementary grammar of the Chinese bronze art from the very beginning in the 2nd millennium B. C., through all stages down to the Huai style (and it lives on in Han time).

8. Circles with tangents. One of the principal patterns in early as well as late Dong-so'n art is the connected row of circles with tangents (pls. 1, 4 etc.). This element has given rises to various historical speculations, to which we shall revert presently, but to my mind there cannot be the slightest doubt that J. Przyluski is right (RAA 1931—32, p. 229) when he points out that this pattern is derived from the running spiral by a very small and natural modification. Indeed, the step from our fig. 2: a to 2: b is an exceedingly short one and easily understood. It has been argued (see Heine-Geldern below) that the Huai style, in which the running spiral occurs so very frequently, never has the circle with tangent. This is not quite true. The Huai style certainly does not as a rule modify its running spirals into circles with tangents, but examples of this very tempting simplification are not wholly lacking. We have seen, in pl. 12: 6 above, a rubbing of the pat-

tern on the foot of a beautiful Kuei from the 7th or 6th c. B. C. There we have the circles with tangents as clear and typical as possible. Moreover, if we compare the figure 2: c on drum D with the figure 2: d on drums B and E (to be discussed under 9 below), we realize immediately that the version with a true spiral is primary, that with the circle an inept modification of the former.

9. The S spiral with regressive volutes. On drum D we find a highly interesting modification of the S spiral: the figure 2: c, just touched upon above. To everybody with even a superficial knowledge of the grammar of the Huai style it is at once clear that here we meet a most typical Huai feature, frequent on the Huai bronzes. In the Middle Chou specimen just quoted (the Crown Prince Fu pl. 15: 8) we already find a first tendency in this direction; the crests on the birds form a backward-pointing addition to the S curve: fig. 2: e. In the specimen pl. 15: 7, an unfolded drawing of a Ko shaft end-piece (T. Laurin coll. cf. Andersson, BMFEA



7, pl. 10) from Shou-chou in typical Huai style, the regressive line is a mere volute. The next step is to elaborate it into a larger line with volute, thus realizing the favourite Huai style element volute-and-angle: fig. 2: f, with the principal stem of the lying S forming one of the \*legs\* of the angle. Thus we have it fully developed on the handle of the beautiful Huai plaque pl. 16: 1, likewise in the T. Laurin coll. This motif, identical with that on drum D, became highly beloved in the Huai art. We find it on a wheel-axle cap pl. 16: 2, which has been unfolded in the drawing pl. 16: 4 (Andersson loc. cit. pl. 5); on this cap the upper part has the simple free S spiral with regressive volutes, the lower part shows connected S spirals of the same kind, but playfully stylized and embellished. Pl. 16: 3 is one side of a bird-shaped finial, fully illustrated by Andersson (loc. cit. pl. 5). Pl. 16: 5 is an inlaid tube (Oeder coll.). Finally, in pl. 16: 6, the upper part of a Ko shaft end-piece, the regressive hook is complete only on one side of the S.

This Huai motif has been so carefully illustrated here because it is of paramount value to our argumentation. Some of the elements discussed above, such as the saw-teeth pattern, ordinary spirals etc., are so commonplace and frequent in various art styles in many cultures that in themselves they prove little regarding Huai — Dong-so'n affinities. Their importance in this connection lies principally in their co-existence: a series of identical elements in both cultures. But our present motif: the S spiral with regressive volutes, is sufficiently peculiar and unusual to be of a most decisive value. Several authors have placed this element on

drum D in relation to similar motifs in the modern art of the Dayaks in Borneo; this is quite justified and highly interesting. But there it is a matter of Dongso'n influence towards the South-East — Dong-so'n is the giver, not the taker. For the origin of the Dong-so'n motif we must in the first place look to a neighbour art of ancient date, the Huai art, where this motif, as we have shown, has naturally and gradually originated and developed into a fundamental element of the Huai-style grammar.

10. As to the birds, I shall confine myself to one single comparison concerning the flying birds on the Laos drum (pl. 5), compared by Goloubew (not very convincingly, I find) to some Han-time drawings. In pl. 16: 7 I reproduce one of the grave tiles in W. C. White: Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China 1939, which I think offer a most remarkable resemblance to the birds on the Laos drum.

The group of tiles published by White are all from some graves near Kin-ts'un in the region of Lo-yang in Honan, and they are so homogeneous and consistent in style that they can be stated with certainty to belong to one and the same period. White has proposed for various reasons that they should be dated in the 3rd c. B. C. I am convinced that this is correct and, in my opinion, there are two principal arguments in favour of this dating. On the one hand, in many of the tiles in question the border bands are filled with the »Interlocked T's» pattern, originally a Yin-time motif which was revived in the Huai style and played a very prominent part in that style; in BMFEA 13, p. 35 I have studied this question extensively and shown that the Interlocked T's pattern did not survive from pre-Han to Han time, and therefore, whenever it occurs, as a rule it indicates a date before 200 B. C. On the other hand, and above all, the style of the tile pictures is quite revealing: though exquisite and masterly, it represents a much more primitive and simple manner of drawing than that of the Han drawings. All men and animals are invariably in full profile, never en face or half-turned towards the beholder; and there is practically no ȟberschneidung». If we go to the Hiaotang-shan pictured slabs (Chavannes, Mission pls. 23-31), which, since their grave temple was already a venerable goal for pilgrimage in 129 A. D., cannot date later than the 1st c. A. D., and probably were even from the pre-Christian time, we find both the en face and the half-turning along with the profiles, and a fully developed technique of ȟberschneidung» and foreshortening. Altogether, the Kints'un group of pictured tiles are unmistakably pre-Han, 4th-3rd c. B. C., contemporaneous with the latter part of the Huai style in the bronze art. The similarity of the birds on the Kin-ts'un tiles and the Laos drum is therefore quite suggestive. The importance of their similarity is heightened by the fact that two typical features of the Huai style in the Kin-ts'un region: these »Kin-ts'un birds» and the \*Kin-ts'un spirals with regressive hooks » (see pl. 16 above), occur together on the Laos drum (pl. 5).

11. Concentric circular zones. Goloubew is undoubtedly right in stating that the arrangement of the décor in concentric zones is strongly reminiscent of certain



classes of Han-time mirrors. On this point the similarity with Han is greater than with Huai. Yet the arrangement in concentric zones was by no means a novelty in the Han era, unknown in pre-Han times. On the contrary, in this respect the Han art only followed up and systematized à outrance ideas already fully developed in the Huai art. We need only regard the mirror in pl. 12: 1 (Hallwyl coll.), one of the earliest known Chinese mirrors, probably of the 6th c. B. C., or the gold sheet from Sin-cheng (6th c. B. C.) in pl. 13: 4, to realize that the arrangement in concentric zones was already fully developed in the early stage of the Huai style. And if we take into consideration also the existence or absence of the central star, together with the concentric zones, there is no Han mirror class which in general arrangement stands so close to the drums as the pre-Han mirror pl. 19: 3 (3rd c. B. C.).

Under the preceding 11 points we have produced evidence to show that almost all the décor elements — apart from the principal scenes — on the early drums (A—G) of the Dong-so'n culture are such as are familiar and important motifs in the Huai style of the pre-Han era. Some of them, very peculiar and specialized, such as 4, the zigzag-filled band evolved from the plait, or 9, the S spiral with regressive volutes, are more telling than the others, which are more simple and natural, and common to many styles of many countries and ages. But the most important, after all, is the coexistence of so many décor motifs both in the Huai style and the early Dong-so'n style. There is a whole series of elements belonging to the most frequent and familiar motifs of the Huai style, that recur, all of them, on the early Dong-so'n drums. This precludes the possibility of chance similarities and speaks definitely of a historical connection — all the more plausible since the areas of the Huai and the early Dong-so'n were in all probability geographically contiguous.

I do not, by any means, want to suggest by all this that the early Dong-so'n drums were a direct product of the Huai style. That was surely not the case. In spite of the strong affinities, there are sufficient dissimilarities to forbid such an interpretation. There is a total absence on the drums, *inter alia*, of many other fundamental Huai-style elements, such as interlaced dragons, the comma pattern etc., and I know of no counterpart to the Dong-so'n boat scenes in the Huai style.¹) But the early Dong-so'n style and the Huai style were closely cognate, and worked, in a large measure, with the same paraphernalia, if I may be allowed to express



<sup>1)</sup> J. Löwenstein (Ostas. Zeitschr. 1934) has thought he could find a parallel to the boat scenes on a mirror of Late Han time. His illustration is too small to show anything, but a much better reproduction is to be found in the Japanese album Tokwaan kokyo zuroku, pl. 40, and a splendid, full-size reproduction in the great album of the Lolang finds (Rakuro gun jidai no iseki, fig. 618). In the long canoe (?) Löwenstein thinks he sees prostrate figures with the heads adorned with feathers. The Korean specimen clearly shows that this is a mistake. The figure is a kneeling, winged elfin of a type quite common in the Han art, which has nothing whatever to do with the \*bird-men\* of our early drums.

it so. They are not identical languages, to use another metaphor, but have to a large extent the same vocabulary, many of the items of which are clearly Huai loan-words in the Dong-so'n language.

From the examination of this long series of minor motifs we now turn to the principial themes, and even there I think we can find evidence of strong affinity on some fundamental points.

The most striking theme on the early drums, besides the large boats, is formed by figures of men with their heads adorned with bird-shapes. Not only on the drums but also on the luxus axes from the Dong-so'n site (pl. 9) they move forward in a row, in a procession. Goloubew (1929, p. 25) excellently sums up the theme thus: »Of the four small engraved scenes (sc. on the axes), three consist of warriors adorned with plumes and forming something like fantastic corteges of bird-men (hommes-oiseaux). One of them is playing the khène. The others carry clicquettes of a model still in use among the Annamites. It is therefore a question of a choreographic scene, which undoubtedly has a sacred character, perhaps even of one of those totemistic dances in which the members of a clan identify themselves with their eponymic animal, the shape and movements of which they imitate». The plausibility of this interpretation, which follows up an idea advanced by Parmentier, is quite striking. And Goloubew corroborates it by a reference to customs still prevailing among the Mu'o'ng. He describes a funeral near Hoa-binh which he himself witnessed (Le peuple de Dong-so'n, p. 761): »The family drum preceded the procession in great pomp, carried by servants in mourning dress and escorted by several Thang-mo men holding long plumes in their hands. The sorcerers followed in Indian file, quite like the persons on the Hanoi drum, disguised as birds. According to locally gathered information, there was said to exist mysterious connections between the plumes they wave during the ceremony and the magical powers of the drum». It is true that it is risky to explain archaeological facts of more than 2000 years ago by modern ethnographical observations; but we shall see presently that there are ancient sources that point in the same direction.

If the \*bird-men \* on the early Dong-so'n drums are men disguised as birds, for ritual and probably magical purposes, and if, as we have seen above, there is much in the décor of these drums that indicates a connection with the Huai style of the 4th—3rd c. B. C., we should expect to find similar representations of \*bird-men \* (hommes-oiseaux) in the Huai-style art. And that is exactly what we do. The representations of the bird-men in China are not identical with nor even similar to those on the early drums, but the idea, the theme, is exactly the same. Pl. 17: 3 (Umehara: Senkoku pl. 90) shows a detail of a rubbing from a Hu belonging to the Chinese Government. It is one of the interesting \*hunting-scene\* vessels, which have often been discussed of late. Their pre-Han date is now universally admitted (one of the best specimens of the group, the famous Hu of the Berlin Museum, has a long pre-Han inscription). Our Hu here has a typical Huai interlacery pattern, and is clearly pre-Han. We witness here a procession of men with

bird masks covering the whole upper part of the body. That these are not merely stancy animals with human body and bird's heads (in the vein of the Shan hai king) but really disguised shommes-oiseaux is proved by other similar scenes to be discussed presently.

Here it is essential to adduce early literary testimonies to the existence of pre-Han »bird-men» dances, and, above all, such from the South of China. In the Wu Yüe ch'un ts'iu, k. 4, it is narrated how King Ho-lü of Wu (514—495 B. C.) buried a beloved daughter. A subterranean passage led to the grave, which was richly decorated with treasures. Then there was enacted \*\* the dance of the white cranes». The »cranes» went into the grave passage, which was then suddenly shut by a mechanism, and they were buried alive. Wu, in the region of modern Shanghai, was originally a non-Chinese country of Southern »Barbarians», sinicized fairly late. Since the Wu Yüe ch'un ts'iu was written in Eastern Han time, it may seem bold to adduce it as a testimony to the early existence of the »dance of the white cranes », but it is confirmed by pre-Han texts. Mu t'ien tsï chuan, k. 5, says: w u po ho er pa »they danced the dance of the white cranes, two (rows of) eight». Two rows of eight dancers was the regular number in the sacred pantomimic dances of Chou-time China. Han-fei-tsi (3rd c. B. C.), chapter Shi kuo, tells us a story of the famous music-master Shi K'uang of Tsin. Invited by the prince to give proof of his skill, he seized his lute and played. »At the first playing, there were black cranes, two (rows of) eight, coming from the South, which gathered at the ridge of the veranda gate. At the second playing they ranged themselves. At the third playing they stretched their necks, spread their wings and danced». In short, Shi K'uang was such a magical player that he forced the wild cranes to come and enact, ritual fashion, in two rows of eight, the sacred dance of the cranes. There can thus be no doubt whatever of the existence in pre-Han China (the China of the Huai style) of the ritual »bird-men» dance, of magical purpose.

There is, however, on the early drums, another theme, forming a counterpart of the »bird-men» theme: that of the cervid. I purposely use the vague term cervid, and not deer. On drum C the rows of cervids show alternating males (with a penis) and females (pl. 3). But the females have horns, just as well as the males. Among the cervids, it is only reindeer that has females with horns. Yet the animals on the drums are obviously not meant to be naturalistic drawings of reindeer¹), for the reindeer horn crown has quite another shape: it rises in a bold, forward-bending curve, strongly different from our drawings here. The fact that the cervid pictures thus go stark against nature suggests that they have quite a different purport: they are not meant to be portraits of living animals but are magical symbols.

<sup>1)</sup> The horns of the females on the drum have tempted Janse, BMFEA 3, p. 103, to interpret them as reindeer. Since such animals do not exist in Indo-China, this would point to a Northern influence, preferably from the Ordos culture; but this conclusion is inadmissible for reasons stated above.

It should also be observed that on the Tongking drum in Stockholm (F, pl. 7) there are bird-men and cervids, but the latter, very differently drawn from those on the Laos drum, have a fantastically large, coiled tail (showing a certain affinity with that of the »dragons» on the Dong-so'n luxus axes), and are obviously not naturalistic pictures but symbolical animals.

Goloubew was the first to draw attention to the curious part played by the cervid on the drums. He writes, of the Laos drum (1929, p. 43): »Is the scene enacted out in the sea? One is tempted to believe so, because of the big fishes with shark fins figured on the sides of the boats. But then, what have the deer to do in this picture?» Przyluski (RAA 7, 1932, p. 230) answers the question: »At first sight, the presence of the deer in this marine décor seems indeed enigmatic. is certainly a question of the flying deer. I have already (sc. in J. As. 1929) shown the importance of this mythical animal in the Indian tradition, where it appears as a loan from the austro-asiatic religions. It would therefore not be surprising to find it in the Laos. Moreover the deer play a large part in the décor of the Ngoc-lu' drum.... The disc presents, inside a band decorated exclusively with birds, a narrower zone in which birds and deer alternate. One can count there successively: 6 birds, 10 deer, 8 birds similar to the first, and 10 more deer. Pictures of deer are likewise observable on an axe coming from Dong-so'n (sc. our pl. 9). . . . . Its lower register is occupied now by deer, now by persons costumed as birds. Here again the deer seem to play the same part as the birds, since they are replaced by bird-men in the same register. Since the deer are on the same mythical plane as the birds, and since, in the human society, we find bird-men (hommes-oiseaux), one may equally expect to come across some deer-men (hommescerfs). None of the objects discovered so far happen to confirm this induction, but it enables us undoubtedly to interpret some prehistoric engravings recently published by Mlle. Colani». Here Przyluski refers to a cave in Hoa-binh, where human faces with big cervid horns are engraved on a stalactite surface (our pl. 18:3); the age of these engravings is unknown, but Mlle. Colani asserts that find conditions preclude their being of recent date.

Przyluski's conclusion is strongly corroborated by Chinese parallels, and here again on the hunting-scene Hu vessels of Huai-style time, which, as we saw, furnished our \*bird-men\* parallel. Let us show first a detail from the Berlin vessel (with the pre-Han inscription), pl. 17: 1. We find there, quite clear and unambiguous, the flying deer. And what is even more important: the cervid-man, conjectured by Przyluski, for good reasons of theme parallelism, we have in several beautiful variants. Not only that; we find it as a counterpart to the bird-man. The beautiful Hu pl. 18: 1, belonging to the Chinese government, stylistically a fine Huai vessel, has the décor that is here shown in a rubbing (pl. 17: 2). The second motif from the base shows us quite unmistakably the cervid-man aiming with bow and arrow at the bird-man. The latter still has here the feet of a bird, but the legs and the forward-bending knees are obviously not those of a bird but of a man;

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the whole figure is clearly a man disguised as a bird (Umehara: Senkoku pl. 88, shows a similar Hu, belonging to C. T. Loo, with the same scene, and there the human legs and feet are quite umistakable — unfortunately the photo is too dark to admit of a new reproduction).

The close relation observed here between bird and cervid is further illustrated in the 2nd register from the top (pl. 17: 2), where there are two birds with deer horns, and between them a winged man with long curved horns! If we revert to the Berlin Hu (pl. 17: 1) and examine the above-mentioned theme there more closely, we find on the one hand the cervid with wings (like a bird), on the other a bird with a long, antenna-like cervid horn. Finally, on a fine Hu in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, (Umehara: Senkoku pl. 77) we find, against a typical Huai-style back ground, the animal shown in our fig. 3 here: an animal which



Fig. 3.

partakes, in the same curious manner, of both cervid and bird: it has a bird's head, with a deer's horn, a deer's body with a bird's wings.

These examples will suffice, in amplissima forma, to corroborate Przyluski's theories about the cervid figures on the early drums and on the Dong-so'n axes. We have here the same theme both in the Dong-so'n culture and in the Chinese culture: the magic bird: bird-man and, forming its counter-

part, even in pantomimic scenes, the magic cervid: cervid-man. In some Chinese examples, as we have seen, they are even merged into the unity of one and the same creature. And the most important point of all to our present investigation: the affinity of theme thus proved is that of the early Dong-so'n culture with the Huai style culture (pre-Han), not with the Chinese Han culture.

It is an interesting fact that our Chinese theme parallels are all to be found on the so-called »hunting-scene» vessels. In a long article treating of such vessels, Sü Chung-shu (Academia Sinica, Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 1935) suggested a »Scythian» influence in this category of bronzes. His arguments were of a very general and not very concrete nature, but in 1937 I was able to show (BMFEA 9) by a series of clearly defined and highly peculiar ornamental motifs, that the Ordos art of pre-Han time had exercised a strong influence on the Huaistyle art generally (not only on this category of vessels). The most striking of these Ordos elements carried over into the (geographically neighbouring) Huai art are pear-shaped and circular ornaments on the animal figures; these could be shown to have orginated in the animal-style art of the steppes and not in China. These elements are present on the very vessels adduced here carrying the magical figures recorded above (pl. 18:1). Especially as several (though certainly not all) of the décor elements discussed above under 1-11, common to early Dong-so'n and Huai, occur in the Ordos art as well (some of them even introduced from Ordos into Huai, as stated above), it is very tempting to construct a great cultural area of three contiguous provinces: Ordos — Huai China — early Dong-so'n, with a

free interchange of art motifs, and having in common a set of religious ideas expressed by the magical scenes of birds (bird-men) correlated with cervids (cervidmen). As far as the Northern regions: Huai China are concerned, a suggestion in this direction was advanced as an interpretation of a hunting-scene Hu in the Louvre by Miss N. Vandier (RAA 1938), and in order to corroborate this she quoted certain customs of the Northern Tungus, as described by Shirokogoroff, to the effect that in certain magical rites the shamans disguise themselves as birds and cervids (she also records some customs of the Liao, who disguised themselves as deer when hunting such animals — which, however, are phenomena of quite another import). This theory, that the same set of magical ideas concerning birds and cervids may also have obtained on China's Northern frontiers in ancient times and thus stood in relation to the Huai vessels exhibiting these ideas, is very tempting; yet is has one fatally weak point. If China's neigbours along the Northern frontier at the time of the Huai style (the hunting-scene vessels) had possessed this set of ideas, we should expect them to crop up in the animal style art of the Ordos and the frontier lands to the East of Ordos (Northern Shansi and Chili, South Mongolia). But we do not. Neither in all the rich materials of this art of the Northern neighbours, nor even in that of the corresponding Siberian centres do we find any trace of these ideas. Birds and cervids there are in plenty, but never, as far I know, a »bird-man» or a »cervid-man» such as could reveal some religious ideas analogous to those attested in Huai and early Dong-so'n. This entire lack of Ordos-art themes analogous to those on the Huai hunting-scene vessels cannot be outweighed by the fact that the ancient »animal style» people of Pasyryk (cf. L. Morgenstern in RAA 1936) put deer masks on the horses buried in the tombs1), nor that the Luristan bronze in our pl. 18: 4, dated by Pope and Ackerman »circa 9th c. B. C.», has a »bird-man» strikingly resembling our Huai bird-men. So long as no North-frontier documents from pre-Han time or at least Han time with ritual themes kindred to those on the Huai hunting-scene vessels come to light, we are not authorized to draw any conclusions as to such Ordos — Huai — early Dong-so'n affinities and to support them with modern or mediaeval customs among the Tungus. So far we have only attested indubitable Huai — early Dong-so'n affinities in regard to the said ritual and magical themes.

In an article: L'Art prébouddhique de la Chine et de l'Asie du Sud-est et son influence en Océanie, RAA 1939, R. Heine-Geldern has attempted a dating of the earliest phase of the Dong-so'n culture along quite different lines and by different methods. The author has constructed an elaborate edifice, the constituent parts



<sup>1)</sup> J. Przyluski, in an article: Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire des Scythes, Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles 1937, has collected a very comprehensive material concerning the sacred deer all over Eurasia.

of which are theories of enormous and wide-sweeping migrations of cultures and arts all over Eurasia. We shall have to sum up his principal arguments here, and then discuss them point by point.

- I. The Huai style has been proved, as a result of O. Janse's studies, to be strongly influenced by the Hallstatt culture as revealed by \*certain forms of socketed celts, antenna swords, lances, arrow heads, buttons and ornamental objects \*.
- II. The Dong-so'n style (but not the Huai style) has the \*circles with tangents \* motif: this occurs also in Hallstatt and is therefore equally a result of Hallstatt influence this idea after Goloubew, Praehist. 1932, p. 140.
- III. The Huai style as well as the Dong-so'n style have other elements, not occurring in Hallstatt but borrowed from other ancient Western cultures. Such are:

  A. the (two-stranded) plait common in ancient Caucasus. B. the S spiral equally current in ancient Caucasus. C. small bells as pendants as in ancient Caucasus.
- IV. The Dong-so'n style (but not as a rule the Huai style) has the running spiral motif. This is imported from ancient Caucasus (Koban, 1200—1000 B. C.), and from Hungary and Transsylvania, as proved by certain gold plaques from these regions, dated by Nestor in 1000—800 B. C., and by the ceramics of Wietenberg—this culture, according to Tompa, \*culminating circa 1000 B. C. and continuing to the 7th and 6th c. B. C.\*, thus, according to Heine-Geldern, \*contemporaneous with the Hallstatt culture \*.
- V. The Huai style but not the Dong-so'n style has »le motif a crochets» (what I have called the »comma pattern»). »There is no slightest germ in Yin, Yin-Chou or Middle-Chou from which this very characteristic Huai-style pattern could have developed». It was imported from Hungary and Transsylvania. It is there found in bronzes »dating ordinarily in the 14 th or 13th c. B. C.». Since the Huai style is attested only from the 6th c. B. C., and its earliest beginnings cannot very well go further back than the 8th c., this Danubian motif has survived »somewhere in the vast domains of the Eurasian steppes» and only reached China »some centuries later».

From the points enumerated so far, Heine-Geldern concludes:

First, that the Dong-so'n culture derives principally from Western sources (p. 189): »It seems to me very probable that it is on the one hand in the Caucasus, on the other hand in the countries of the lower Danube (Hungary, Transsylvania), among the Thraco-Cimmerian tribes, from circa 1000 to 700 B. C., that we must look for the most important occidental sources of the Dong-so'n culture».... »The constitutive elements of the Dong-so'n ornamentation are indisputably of occidental origin, but... this ornamentation forms a rather complex whole, containing elements of Caucasian, Transsylvanian and Hallstattian origin, and perhaps others as well».

Secondly: The Huai style was born through a fusion of native Chinese elements, Hallstatt elements and also Caucasian-Transsylvanian elements (among the

latter e. g. the S spiral and the plait, p. 190: »In my opinion they should be considered as traces of a rather strong Caucasian influence»).

Then Heine-Geldern takes one step further:

VI. The Occidental elements thus flowing to the Far East in the 1st millennium B. C. were received differently in China and in Northern Indo-China: some motifs, such as circles with tangents, the running spiral, the true meander à la grecque (as we have pointed out above this is in principle the same as the running spiral, in a square form) were accepted unaltered in early-Dong-so'n, but not in Huai China (\*the true meander à la grecque and the circle with tangents are entirely missing in the China of that epoch and the running spiral is very rare, p. 191). On the other hand some fundamental features in the Huai style (e. g. interlaced dragons, commapattern) are entirely missing in early Dong-so'n. Consequently, the \*waves coming from the West which created the Dong-so'n culture \*have not passed to Indo-China by way of China. The stream of Western culture must have passed through Central Asia — Western Sī-ch'uan — Yünnan — North Indo-China. And it was \*another branch\* of the same stream that from Central Asia passed into \*Southern China\*, where it mixed with native elements and gave birth to the Huai style.

And then, since the Huai style is well attested to have been fully developed in the 6th c. B. C., this »wave» must be anterior to that date; consequently the early Dong-so'n culture as well must have been born well before 600 B. C.! But not enough with that:

VII. All these Hallstattian, Transsylvanian and Caucasian elements of the \*wave\* in question go back to the pre-Scythian period in Europe, i. e. \*to the epoch of the Thraco-Cimmerian domination in the countries between the Danube and Caucasus, an epoch datable approximately 1200—700 B. C.; it seems, therefore, that the movement towards the Orient was engendered by Thraco-Cimmerians who had received some impulses from the Hallstatt culture\*. However, the Scythians invaded South Russia circa 700 B. C. and this blocked the way entirely for any \*stream\* whatever towards the East; consequently the Thraco-Cimmerian \*wave\* was anterior to 700 B. C. And, indeed, we learn in the ancient Chinese texts of a mighty onslaught from the West when the terrible Hien-yün drove the great King of Chou (771 B. C.) from his capital in Shensi to the Lo-yang region in Honan. Were these Hien-yün not the bearers of this Western \*wave\*? Were they not, indeed, Cimmerians? The beginnings of the Dong-so'n culture, as well as the beginnings of the Huai style, cannot, in short, be later than the 8th c. B. C.

Let us now examine this elaborate structure point by point.

I. Hallstatt and China. Janse's theories are embodied in three principal papers of his in BMFEA 2, 3 and 4 and resumed in an article in RAA 1935.

The comparisons he attempts to make are the following:

A. Antenna swords. J. adduces for comparison one (1) Chinese sword. Yet this sword is certainly not an antenna sword proper. As far as the upper part



of its handle is concerned, it is closely akin to certain Ordos weapons, see Andersson, BMFEA 4, pl. 6; cf. also an interesting article by N. Egami: Akinakes, the Sword of the Scythian type discovered in the Far East, and its identification with the Hiung-nu Ching-lu sword (in Japanese) in Toho Gakuho, Journal of Oriental Studies, Tokyo 1932. Other features of the sword reveal it as being quite un-Chinese. The fact that it belongs to the Eumorfopoulos collection and was probably bought in China does not of course prove that it is of Chinese make. Whether the Ordos weapons with the top as indicated have any primary connection with Hallstatt antenna swords is a question that does not concern us here. The Eumorfopoulos sword does not in the slightest prove any Hallstatt influence on Huai culture in the form of \*antenna swords\* in the latter.

- Three socketed celts from Yünnan, the principal of which is the beautiful specimen in our pl. 18: 2. Like a Hallstatt celt adduced by Janse, its socket is oval in cross-section, the rim of the socket has a concave bend and the celt has a ring. Yet the dissimilarities are almost as great. The Yünnan specimens widen strongly towards the edge — in our ex. pl. 18 here, the breadth of the edge is about 50 % of the total length of the celt, in the other two examples of Janse's it is circa 40 % and 70 % of the total length: the Hallstatt specimen is very long and narrow, and the breadth of the edge is circa 20 % of the total length of the celt. The Hallstatt specimen has the ring at the edge of the socket, the Chinese specimens have it a good distance down on the socket (in our ex. pl. 18 it is opposite a décor band, to which there is no counterpart on the Hallstatt axe). About the Hallstatt type Janse says (BMFEA 3, p. 109): »This type of axe is very frequent in Europe. In Scandinavia it appeared already during the 2nd period of the bronze age, it has subsisted in eastern regions in the early iron age: the type is represented in eastern Russia». From what has been adduced it follows that a connection between the Yünnan axes and the Hallstatt culture is entirely unproved. It should be added that socketed celts of varying types and with and without rings occur in China from Yin time onwards. A socketed spear-head with rings placed just as on the Hallstatt axe was excavated by the Academia Sinica in An-yang (Yin dynasty, earlier than Hallstatt, see Ac. Sin., Studies Ts'ai Yuan-'pei 1935 pl. 1). A socketed celt in the MFEA (BMFEA 6: pl. 14) of Yin or Yin Chou time (Yin décor), and hence older than Hallstatt, has exactly the same concave bend of the rim as the Yünnan axes. Until the history and typology of the Chinese socketed celts has been investigated, we are not authorized to jump to any conclusions about a foreign origin of types found in China.
- C. Janse depicts, on the one hand, a spear-head found in Birma (Shan states), on the other hand a similar spear-head from Gotland, Sweden, »dating in the younger bronze age, which, in Sweden, partially corresponds to the Hallstatt period». We pass over this comparison in silence.
- D. A Chinese jade axe (of undetermined period) is compared with an iron axe from Hallstatt, from which it differs on several fundamental points.



- E. Three axes with tube-shaped sockets and circular or square blades on the side of the socket are compared with similar Hallstatt specimens. These same \*Chinese\* specimens crop up amusingly enough in an article by J. G. Andersson (EA 1932) as typical specimens of the Ordos culture! Before we know whether these axes are Chinese or Hiung-nu, we had better refrain from basing on them any theories of Hallstatt influences in the Huai style culture.
- F. Some »Chinese» arrow-heads are compared with similar arrow-heads in Hall-statt. Of the three »Chinese» arrow-heads, one was bought in Ta-t'ung, Northern Shansi, and clearly belongs to the Ordos culture. The other two were acquired in the Huai valley region, where we know of a considerable influx of Ordos specimens, cf A. Koch in BMFEA 6. Some very similar arrow-heads were found in Siberia, See F. R. Martin, L'âge du Bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk, 1893, pl. 26. These arrow-heads, therefore, are in no way conclusive as evidencing cultural relations Hallstatt China.
- G. Small ridged tubes are compared with similar tubes in Hallstatt. The similarity is striking, but the Far Eastern specimens are Ordos, not Chinese.
- H. Cross-shaped tubes. Janse's identification of the cross-shaped tubes, all from Hallstatt, via Siberia and Ordos to China is absolutely convincing and highly interesting. Janse himself, however, emphasizes that this cross-tube does not exist in the Western provinces of the Hallstatt culture, and draws the legitimate conclusion that it constitutes an »oriental» imported element in Eastern Hallstatt. (BMFEA 4, p. 199). The cross-tubes in China are certainly an echo (reaching China indirectly by way of Siberia and Ordos) of a far-away West-Asiatic world; it affords no argument whatever for a Hallstatt influence in the creation of the Huai style least of all along the routes sketched by Heine-Geldern.

If we sum up points A—H above, we are able to assert that Janse's articles have furnished no solid or adequate proof whatever of a Hallstatt influence on the Chinese world. Some interrelations may have existed between Hallstatt and the »animal style » cultures (I am not prepared to take any stand in this intricate question), hence also Ordos, and faint echoes of this may have reached China via the northern frontier and the Ordos culture, but so far I have witnessed no demonstration of a single reliable fact of this latter kind (the cross-tubes not being fundamentally Hallstatt, as already pointed out by Janse). This much is certain: the Hallstatt — China legend ought to be shelved until reliable data have been furnished.

- II. The circles with tangents in Dong-so'n are not of Hallstatt origin, as we have seen, but are naturally explained as a slight and simple modification of the running spiral motif (Przyluski as quoted above; it is not true that it never existed in China, for the same modification occurs occasionally in Huai, see pl. 12: 6). The whole theory of a Hallstatt origin of some fundamental parts of the Dong-so'n culture hangs therefore entirely in the air, just as much as that of the Hallstatt China influence.
  - III. A. The two-stranded plait does not come from the Caucasus along the



hypothetical routes imagined by Heine-Geldern: it came from the Ordos art into the geographically neighbouring Huai art, and from there into early Dong-so'n. It is a Scythian-Siberian-Ordos loan feature in Chinese, and hence Dong-so'n, art, not Caucasian.

- B. The S spiral is most decidedly not a loan element from the Caucasus in the Huai style. It was, as we have shown above, a familiar feature in Chinese art from the 2nd millenium B. C. (Yin style), and lived through the Middle Chou style down to, and was directly incorporated in, the Huai style. Early Dong-so'n received it from the neighbouring Huai style, not from far-away Europe through hypothetical Central-Asian migrations.
  - C. The small bells as pendants are too insignificant to prove anything at all.
- IV. Early Dong-so'n by no means obtained its running-spiral pattern from the Caucasus. Contrary to what Heine-Geldern states, this motif is extremely common in the Huai style (see pl. 14: 8, 9), and it is but natural that the neighbour art, the early Dong-so'n, should have taken it over. It is a simple and natural variation of the S spirals lying free in a row (as in pl. 14: 5), and has therefore grown out of purely Chinese conditions and premises, the S spiral being, as we have just stated, primeval in China.
- V. The »motif à crochet » (»comma pattern») of the Huai style has been extensively examined by me in BMFEA 13, p. 31—33, and I have shown that it has organically grown out of representations of T'ao-t'ie and dragons in earlier stages. It has thus as pure a Chinese origin and birth as possible, and this Huai style element of the 7th—3rd c. B. C. has nothing whatever to do with the Hungarian and Transsylvanian »crochet » of the 14th—13th centuries B. C.

Thus all the premises (I—V) for Heine-Geldern's construction of Hallstattian and Caucasian and Hungarian-Transsylvanian waves of influence towards China and Indo-China break down altogether. But even his conclusions from these premises — supposing they were true — are equally erroneous.

VI. It is not true that real meanders, and circles with tangents are entirely lacking in Huai China — they occur occasionally, though rarely; and the running spiral is not rare in Huai, as Heine-Geldern states, but extremely common. The whole of his conclusion that early Dong-so'n could not have received them via China, and his consequent construction of two routes across Central-Asia, one over Western Si-ch'uan to Indo-China, one to South-China, falls to the ground.

In short: the supposed Hallstattian-Transsylvanian-Caucasian influences at the birth of both the Huai and the early Dong-so'n cultures are based on statements and conclusions that turn out, point by point, to be erroneous and untenable. Such influences cannot therefore serve, in even the slightest degree, to date the early Dong-so'n culture.

We have demonstrated, by a long series of points d'appui, that the affinities between the early Dong-so'n art of the primary drums of type I and the Chinese

culture are affinities not with the art of the Han but with the art of the pre-Han Huai style. The oldest interrelations are those revealed on the one hand by the Huai sword found in Dong-so'n, which cannot very well be older than the 4th—3rd c. B. C., on the other hand by the hunting-scene vessels, likewise of the 4th—3rd c. B. C. We may thus with a large measure of probability date the early Dong-so'n culture in the 4th—3rd c. B. C. It flourished for some centuries, and a late stage of that same culture is revealed by the grave finds in the village of Dong-so'n. The early Dong-so'n culture was a neighbour of and closely related to — certainly to a large extent influenced by — the Huai style of Central China. It is fully explainable from these premises, and we need no speculations about world-wide emigrations and hypothetical intermediate »Central-Asian» cultures in order to interpret the facts of its birth.

Of the products of the early-Dong-so'n culture in the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. we have so far discussed only the early drums (A—G) and the decorated axes of Dong-so'n, which latter by their décor reveal themselves as probably belonging to an earlier stage than the other artifacts found in Dong-so'n. Are there no other specimens which could come into the picture and widen our knowledge of that early Dong-so'n stage?

The drums were, as we have seen, spread over a very wide area: Tongking, Mu'o'ng, Laos, Yünnan. It was but natural that scholars interested particularly in finds in Chinese soil should try to find, in the South-West of China, some groups of artifacts that could be connected with the bronze age of Northern Indo-China. On the initiative of J. G. Andersson, O. Janse wrote an article (BMFEA 1932) in which he described a series of bronzes acquired in Yünnan, probably hailing from the region of Yünnan-fu, which might be suspected to belong to a distinct cultural area, a »South-Western culture», and it was but natural to suspect a connection between this culture and that of Northern Indo-China.

It stands to reason that not every object exhumed in Yünnan need belong to this distinct »South-Western culture», and it is therefore necessary to discuss them from case to case. Janse first describes (his pl. II) an a-symmetrical axe, called by him a »boot-shaped» axe; yet it is very different in type from those found in Dongso'n. Another specimen, more like some Dong-so'n a-symmetrical axes (his pl. III b), is not known to hail from Yünnan, but simply from somewhere »in China», and therefore tells us but little. Most of the following axes and other objects described and illustrated by Janse have good counterparts in Central and Northern China, and there is nothing definite to connect them with the Dong-so'n culture. In all the material treated by Janse there are only two specimens which bear an elaborate décor, and if they could be proved to belong to a Northern (Yünnan)

branch of the Dong-so'n culture, they would form a very valuable addition to our knowledge of that culture.

One of them is the socketed axe from Yünnan-fu (our pl. 18: 2). In an introduction to Janse's article, J. G. Andersson singled out this specimen as probably belonging to the South-Western culture distinguished from the Central and Northern Chinese provinces. A closer examination of the specimen, however, reveals that it is an object in full Huai style. There are three distinct décor bands. The topmost (unfortunately not clearly visible in our photo here) has the running spiral pattern, common to Huai and Dong-so'n; the lowest has the two-stranded plait pattern, equally belonging to both styles. But the central band is filled with a typical Chinese lei-wen pattern (which is one of the Yin—Yin-Chou elements revived in Huai and extensively used there), and moreover, the square lei-wen spirals are so arranged as to form an interlocked T's pattern. Nothing could be more specific and typical Huai than this, and it at once determines the axe as an artifact of pure Huai style. We have here a highly valuable instance suggesting that the Huai style, well-known from Ch'ang-sha in Hunan, extended a branch as far to the West as Yünnan-fu.

The second richly decorated specimen is a socketed axe in our pl. 19:1, 2. Of this axe Andersson (BMFEA 3, p. 100), after having reported that it was bought in Peking, wrote: »Its décor resembles on the one hand that of the celt just-mentioned (i. e. the axe in our pl. 18:2), on the other the décor on the drums of Southern China. In a lecture in the MFEA in 1928, I allowed myself to express the opinion that the axe acquired in Peking probably comes from South-Western China. And I then expressed an hypothesis, according to which there exists, in the South of China and notably in South-Western China, a particular art province characterized by small bronzes of a special type and of drums ».

The décor features which this axe shares with the Yünnan socketed celt, alluded to by Andersson (our pl. 18: 2), are the running spiral and the two-stranded plait band — both elements common to Huai and Dong-so'n. But in addition — apart from the curious hole surrounded by a band of strokes — there are some figures on the tongue above the socket. These were tentatively interpreted by Andersson as some kind of lizards, by Janse as frogs. Since our drum D. has pictures of lizards (pl. 5), and the G drum (like many later drums) has frogs in the round on the disc, this — be it lizards or frogs — seemed to constitute a valuable item of connection between the Peking axe of pl. 19 and the Southern culture. Quite particularly the surmise seemed corroborated by a bronze, found in the Tongking delta, here reproduced in pl. 20: 3 after a drawing by Goloubew. Though this Tongking axe has no socket, it is obviously closely cognate to the Peking specimen. Although the similarity between the décor of the Peking axe (pl. 19), sc. the running spiral and the plait band, and that of the Yünnan celt (pl. 18: 2), is no longer conclusive, since this celt must be said to be, after all, a Huai-art product, as just demonstrated, the lizards-frogs of the Peking axe (pl. 19) on the one hand, the

Tongking provenience of the similar axe pl. 20: 3 on the other (bearing the same figures) strongly justified Andersson's and Janse's surmise. Janse even (BMFEA 3, p. 125) examined the frog motif in detail and recalled the magical significance of this motif of South-Eastern Asia.

It is, however, this last-mentioned motif that alone would be quite decisive, for if there were no such »Southern» magical motif on the Tonkin-delta axe, there would of course be no reason why this axe should not be an object imported from the North, just as the Chinese sword, the Hu vessels, the mirror and coins found in Dong-so'n, and it could not in any way determine an axe bought in Peking as \*probably coming from the South-West of China». The crucial point is therefore this: are the figures really lizards or frogs?

There is an axe (pl. 20: 2), belonging to the Royal Ontario Museum, which comes from Sin-yang-chou in Honan. This axe is quite obviously the prototype of the Peking axe and of the Tongking-delta axe. From this Honan axe we gather one fundamental fact: there is no gainsaying that the figures, here much more elaborate and clear than on the other axes, do not depict lizards or frogs; they are drawings of human figures. The drawings on the Peking axe and the Tongking axe are corrupted and simplified, degenerate versions of the human shapes of the Honan axe. This is fatal for the entire theory of the Southern character of these two axes, for the whole decisive lizard-frog motif is eliminated. And even more fatal: the provenience of the primary axe, from Sin-yang-chou in Honan, eo ipso makes it clear that the axe type in question was at home in North-central China, and there is therefore not the slightest reason to conjecture that the Peking axe hails from the far South-West. It would be quite unreasonable to conclude, on the analogy of the Tongking-delta axe, that both the Peking axe and the Honan axe were cast in the South and exported to the North. The Tonking-delta axe (which actually has no »Southern» lizards or frogs) is therefore, without the slightest doubt, a Northern Chinese specimen imported into Tongking in ancient times, like the above-mentioned artifacts found in Dong-so'n.

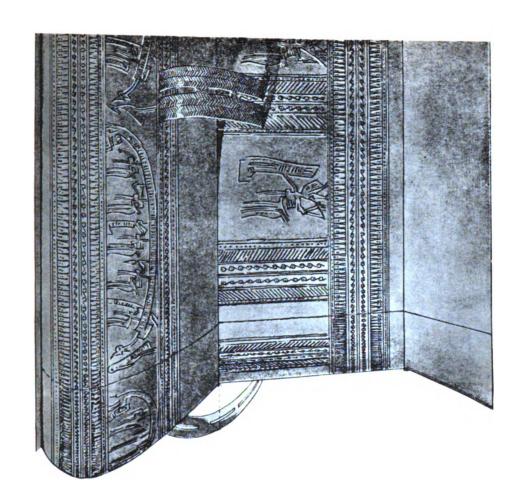
This may now be confirmed by a closer examination of some other elements on the three axes.

The hole bordered by a band of strokes is closely cognate to the central décor on the horse's forehead ornament in the Hellström collection (pl. 11:8): it is a purely Chinese décor motif already existing in the earliest period. In all probability both on the Hellström bronze and on the three axes the hole was intended to carry some precious stone (jade?), which, in the axes, might have given a beautiful effect by being translucent or semitranslucent.

On one side of the Peking axe (pl. 19:2) there is an animal figure. We have good analogies to this on various Huai-style bronzes, e. g. on a bronze belonging to the Huai-style Li-yü find in Northern Shansi (pl. 20:1). Thus this group of axes (the Peking, Honan and Tongking specimens) may safely be determined as being specimens belonging to the Huai style of North-central China.

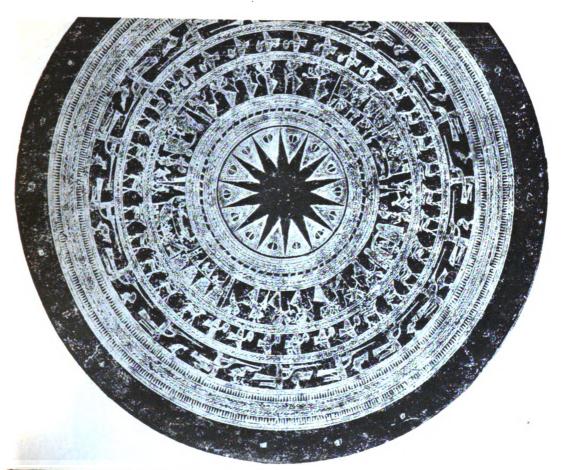


These fine decorated pieces being thus eliminated from the list of early Dong-so'n artifacts, we are unfortunately brought back practically to the situation before Janse's article on the South-Western culture. Apart from a few simple specimens from Yünnan (as reported in his paper), which might possibly belong to the northernmost branch of the Dong-so'n culture, we know the earliest stage of this culture exclusively through the primary drums of Type I of the 4th—3rd centuries B. C. Yet we have no reason to be dissatisfied: they form an excellent, beautiful and, from the point of view of early religious ideas, an exceedingly interesting group of documents.

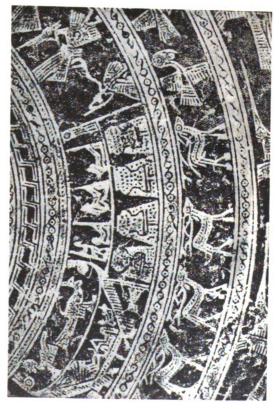




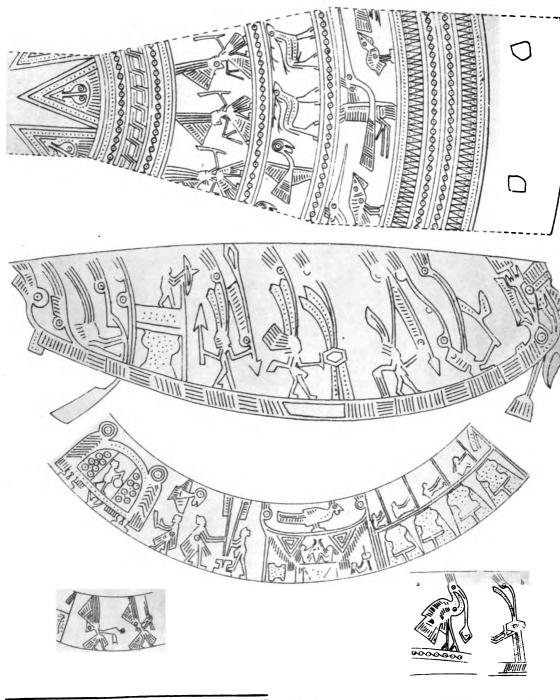




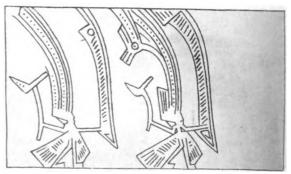


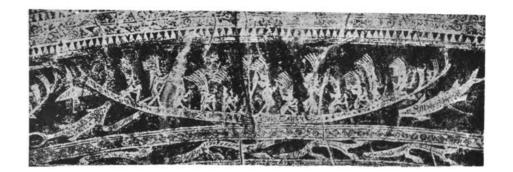


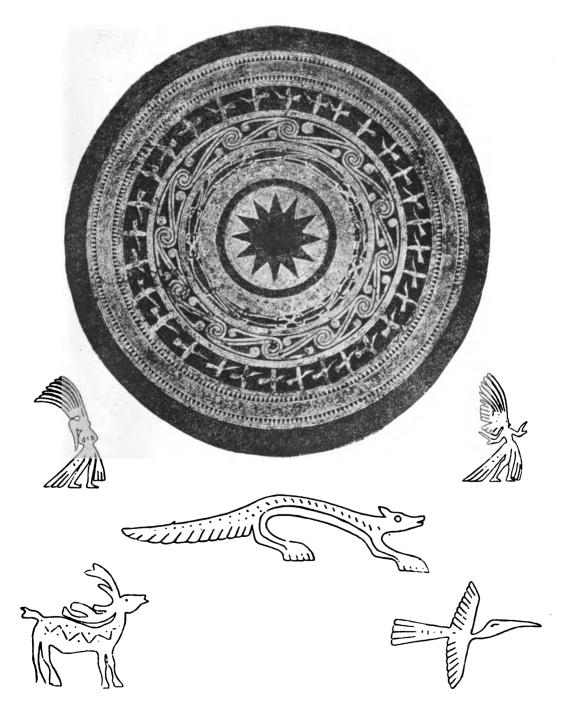
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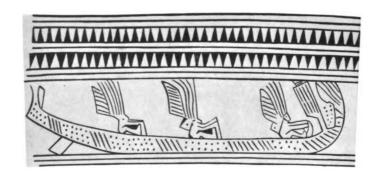


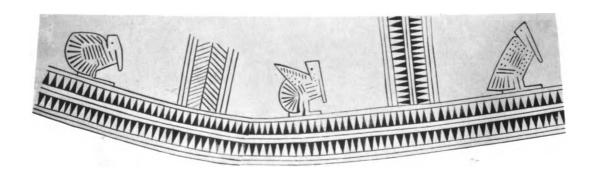
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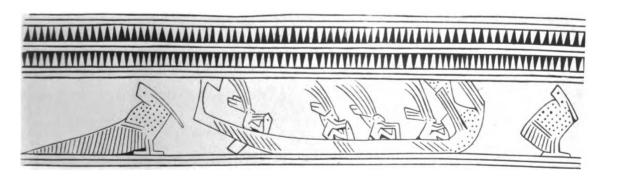


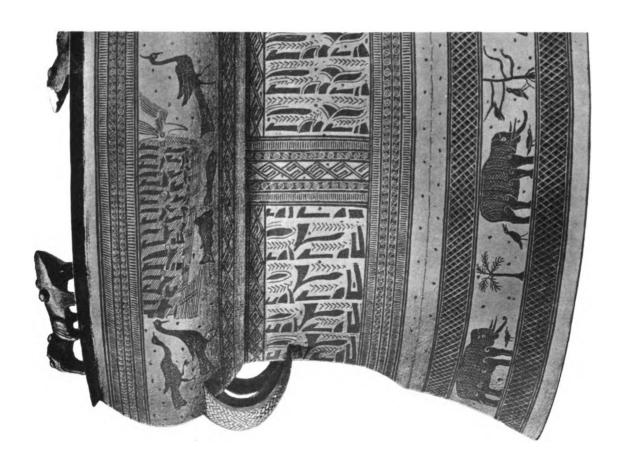








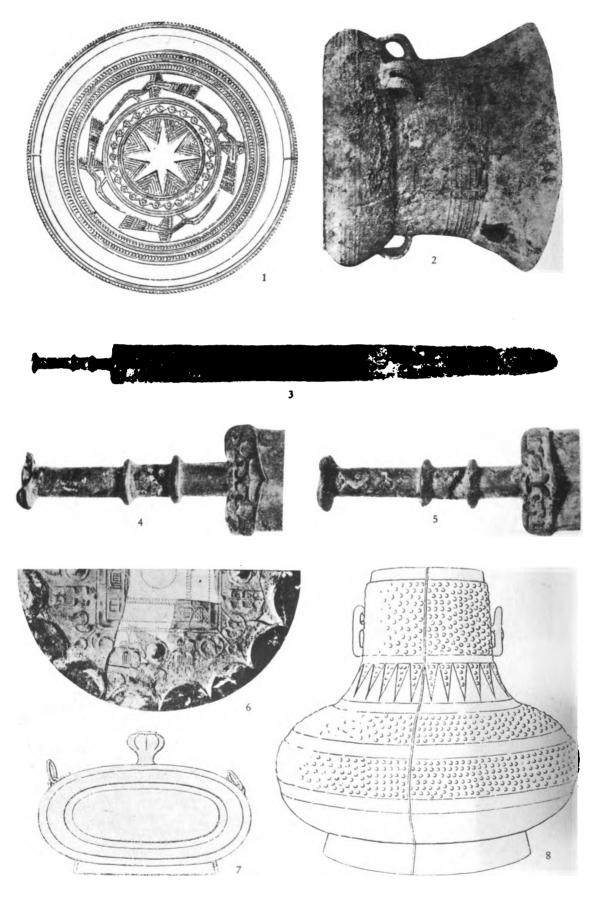








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Pl. 14.



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# SOME FOSSIL MAMMAL LOCALITIES IN NORTHERN CHINA

BY

#### J. G. ANDERSSON

With the financial support of the Swedish China Research Committee and under the auspices of the Geological Survey of China I carried out during the years 1918—1924 an extensive campaign for the discovery and exploitation of fossil vertebrate sites in N. China.

The earliest of the discoveries, the Chi Ku Shan site near Chou K'ou Tien, was briefly described by me in the Swedish geographical journal Geografiska Annaler, 1919. P. 265—268.

The very important Pao Te Hsien deposits were carefully studied by my assistant Dr. O. Zdansky and described by him in a paper: »Fundorte der Hipparion-Fauna um Pao Te Hsien». Bull. Geol. Survey of China, 1923. P. 69—81.

Dr. Zdansky also undertook the first two excavation campaigns at the now world-famous Chou K'ou Tien deposit, which he described in an article: »Ein Säuger-knochenlager in Chou K'ou Tien». Bull. Geol. Survey of China. 1923. P. 83—89. Subsequently Chinese scientists have during many years excavated this site with the greatest care and brought to light scientific treasures which have been described by them in numerous papers.

The Ertemte and Olan Chorea sites in Inner Mongolia were excavated by me and described in my paper »Essays on the Cenozoic of Northern China», Mem. Geol. Survey of China. Ser. A. No. 3. P. 36—52. 1923.

In this small note I give brief descriptions of some sites examined by me at widely different times but never topographically described.

#### Loc. 2.

Chihli, Hsuan Hua Hsien, from city E. 40 li, Shuang Yin Tze.

When passing through this village in May 1918 I bought from a villager a fragment of a mammal skull and he showed me the place where the bone had been found. It was in the cliff cut by a small stream flowing past this village, and the find was made underneath 5 metres of gravel and loess, which occurred repeatedly intercalated the one with the other.



#### Loc. 3.

#### Chihli, Huai Lai Hsien, Hu Lu T'ao, from village E. 21/2 li.

The find made in this place consists of a rather massive jaw of an Artiodactyl and of numerous other bones, probably belonging to the same animal. Some of the bones had been dug out by a villager before our visit, in October 1918, and were bought from him. He took us to the place and together with him we excavated more of the fragments. The locality is situated in a narrow loess ravine, a transverse section of which is shown in the adjoined figure, from which it can be seen that the find was made at the very bottom of the ravine. All the bones were

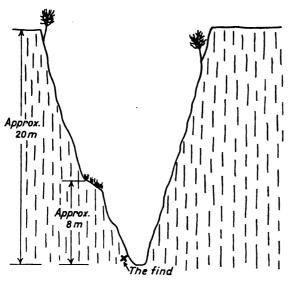


Fig. 1.

found within a small space, about one metre in length and 0.3 metres in height. In several cases it could be proved that the bones were fragmentary in situ, forming angular splinters in the loess. The matrix containing the bones is a typical loess without any intermixture of sand or gravel. The only peculiar feature was the occurrence of small joint planes covered with a black substance.

As shown by the figure, about 8 metres above the find there is a patch covered with vegetation which might possibly be interpreted as an indication that a big volume of loess, including the find, had slipped down from the

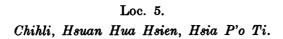
top of the ravine. Such small earth-slides are extremely common in the loess ravines.

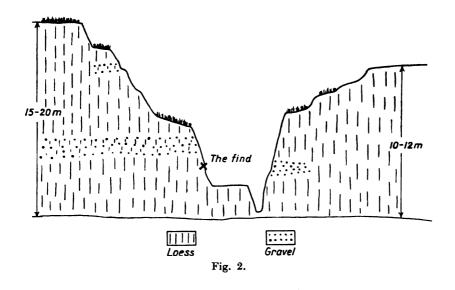
Everywhere in this ravine the sediment is pure loess without any intermixture of gravel.

#### Loc. 4.

#### Chihli, Huai Lai Hsien, Pei Yü Lin Tze.

A skull of the big-horn sheep had been found in this village in a gravel deposit, which probably belongs to the series which I have named re-deposited loess. The villager from whom we bought the skull showed us on October 22, 1918, the spot where the find had been made, and we started digging rather persistently but without any result whatsoever.





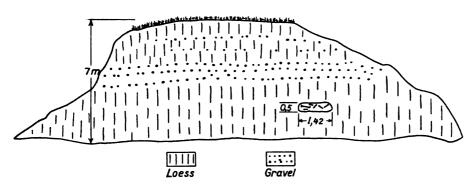


Fig. 3.

Detail of fig. 2, showing en face the finding-place.

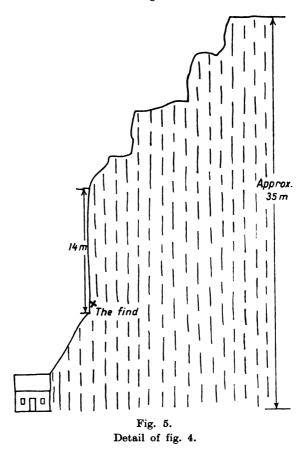
In a ravine near this village a farmer had noticed numerous mammal bones in a deposit of loess alternating with gravel. We visited the place and found the larger part of a skeleton, which however was in a very poor state of preservation, so that the material was excavated in a very fragmentary condition. The two adjoined figures illustrate the mode of occurrence of this skeleton, which was found in pure loess within a space 1.42 metres long and 0.5 metres high.

Loc. 6.

Honan, Kung Hsien, from Kung Hsien railway station N. 10 li, Hung Kou.



Fig. 4.



A considerable river named Lo Ho flows near Kung Hsien railway station in a northerly direction down to the Yellow River. This river has cut down its course through a plateau of loess, which is now marked by more or less dissected remnants of the old plateau that rises both east and west of the alluvial plain of the Lo Ho. In the plateau on the west side of the Lo Ho is the ravine Hung Kou, where the find was made.

The bones, which consist of a beautiful elephant molar, and some other bone fragments, were bought from a villager in Nov. 1918.

The loess plateau in question is, in the usual way, dissected in numerous ravines, and in one of them is situated the village of Hung Kou. The conditions of the find are clearly illustrated by sections reproduced here. It will suffice to point out that the sediment is everywhere pure loess without any gravel intercalation.

#### Loc. 10.

Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, NE. 30 li, Pei Ti Wu, Hsi Tsun, Loc. 2.

About 200 metres south of the place called Pei-Ti-Wu No. 1 (here loc. 16) was discovered another locality of the Hipparion fauna named Pei-Ti-Wu No. 2. This locality is situated close to a small

farm-house near a ravine.

The owner of the place had dug a hole, as shown in the figure, for storing vegetables. We were able to descend by a ladder into this small artificial cave, where bones appeared in several places in the walls, which consisted of red clay. We here found several leg bones, some jaw fragments of a small Artiodactyl and a complete slender skull of a carnivore.

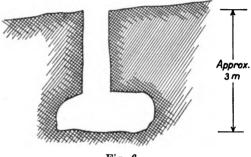


Fig. 6.

There are often calcareous nodules around the bones. Everything seems to indicate that this is a primary deposit.

In my field note-book I have made the following note relating to both the Pei-Ti-Wu localities: »These small Pliocene deposits seem to have been deposited upon the slopes of a topography which is practically identical with the modern, rather youthful relief.»

#### Loc. 12.

### Honan, Hsin An Hsien, Shang Yin Kou. Surveyed Dec. 1918.

This locality is situated 14 li NNW. from Hsin An city, to the east of a small valley leading down to Hsin An. The place is near the small village of Shang Yin Kou. The bone-bed is situated high up on the slope and forms a small projecting hillock, only some few metres high and broad. The part of this hill which contained bones in large numbers is 5 m. in length and 2 m. in thickness.

Some bones were noticed also in another hillock, some few metres away, but they seemed to occur only sparingly.



The bone-bed consists of reddish-brown clay with hard lime concretions, which mostly consist of bones in the centre and concretionary limy deposits forming a coating around them.

A strikingly large proportion of the bones are teeth and parts of skulls. Bones representing a considerable number of mammal species are irregularly mixed up, forming a veritable bone-bed. A striking instance was a large lump of clay containing parts of the skulls of three widely different mammals (Hipparion, a big carnivorous animal and a third species).

In several cases it was proved beyond doubt that the bones were fragmentary already in situ in the clay.

Beneath the bone-bearing clay there is a gravel-bed of small sized gravel, locally tending to become coarse sand. The gravel is partly intercalated in or deposited side by side with the bone-bearing clay.

#### Loc. 16.

Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, Pei Ti Wu, Hsi Tsun, Loc. 1.

From this locality I had received through the mediation of the Rev. Maria Pettersson some beautiful teeth and bones of the typical Hipparion fauna, amongst which some teeth of a pig and canines of a carnivore were also noticed. In the same collection was also a considerable material of a characteristic thick Artiodactyl jaw.

On Dec. 6th, 1918, I visited the place where this material had been collected.

The locality is situated about half a li west of the village of Hsi Tsun. In the slope there are outcrops of limestone and red shale, dipping S 23° W 37°. The lower part of this slope is covered with red clay. In the stone-walls of the terraces made by the farmers there are enormous masses of concretions, evidently derived from this clay. Upwards the red clay gradually passes into loess, which is more or less of a red colour.

The spot where the collections of fossils had been made was shown to me and was situated in the middle of a small cultivated field, where it was very difficult to decide whether the soil was red clay or loess. While digging at this place we found a pig's tooth and some bones in rather loess-like material. In my field notebook I have made the following remark: "It can hardly be doubted that in this case the Pliocene bones occur in a loess-like deposit; on the other hand the original deposit must be close at hand, as otherwise we could not explain the occurrence together of so many species belonging to the Hipparion fauna."

#### Loc. 17.

Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, T'ien T'an Kuan.

An elephant molar and several other bones probably belonging to the same find had been discovered near the temple of T'ien T'an Kuan.



The locality is situated half a li E 7° N from the temple, close by a road which is slightly cut down in the soil. The bones were found about one metre below the surface of the ground and the sediment in every essential feasure resembles loess, though its colour is somewhat redder than that of typical loess. The bones had been found in two spots about  $1^1/2$  metres apart. Above the level where the bones were found there was a layer of concretions of a pale gray colour.

#### Loc. 18.

Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, from city N. 15 li, Yang Shao Tsun.

From this village we had obtained through the mediation of Mr. Wang, assistant of the Hsin An Hsien mission, the larger part of a fine sheep-skull embedded in loess.

When visiting Yang Shao Tsun on the 8th Dec. 1918, we went with Mr. Wang to see the place where this fossil had been excavated. It was a small artificial cave excavated in the loess, as shown in the adjoined figure, and used as a dwelling-room.

The above-mentioned skull had been found at the entrance of the cave. A small piece which had been left in situ was excavated by me

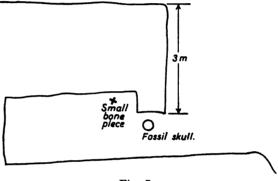


Fig. 7.

and proved to fit into the pieces which I had bought from the finder.

A small piece of bone was found in another part of the cave as indicated in the figure.

The sediment is typical loess with numerous land shells.

#### Loc. 20, 21.

Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, about 10 li N. of Mien Chih city. Lan Ko.

Mien Chih city is situated in a valley cut down in the Pliocene beds. N of the city is an undulating plateau gradually rising towards the north. In this plateau are cut down ravines, 30—40 m. deep. In the ravine just E of the road leading from Mien Chih to the locality where the fossils were found there are distinct unconformities between the red clay and the loess showing that valleys had been cut in the Pliocene plateau before the loess had formed a deposit. Subsequently these valleys became filled with loess, but they have been cut open again by a period of erosion later than the loess. In these valleys the loess can locally attain a thickness of 20 m. but as a rule it is only some few metres.



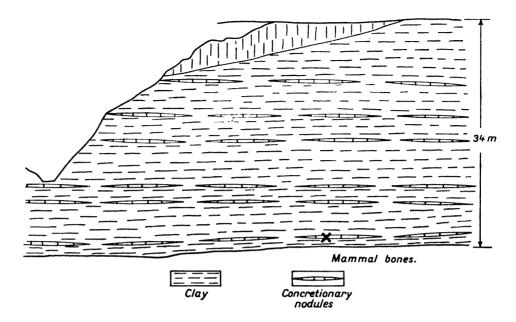


Fig. 8.

The two localities here in question are only about 100 metres from one another on the opposite banks of a small rivulet flowing in the above-mentioned ravine.

The locality marked "Section" is shown in the adjoining figure. In this section showing a clear succession of Pliocene beds about 34 m. thick there are six beds of limestone nodules. These beds are quite regular except the uppermost one, which is somewhat disturbed. They are parallel to one another and nearly horizontal to a very slight dip towards the south.

Between the limestone-nodule beds there are in certain places in the clay a faint but still distinct colour-bedding alternation of more or less strongly red-coloured beds. The limestone-nodule beds are on an average one metre thick. They seem to be persistent, at any rate for some distance, as they could be identified from one to the other of two nearby sections in the same ravine.

The mammals were found in the lowest of the limestone-nodule beds, as shown in the figure. This bed is underlaid by a bed of clay of a highly intense red colour.

The other locality marked »Cave » is situated on the other (east) side of the rivulet about 100 m. down the stream. Here a cave had been excavated by the farmers, probably in the usual way to serve as a rain-shelter. In this cave we were shown some big blocks of clay containing some very well preserved bones. This clay contained numerous whitish-grey lumps of about potato size, a feature I have never seen in other places in the Pliocene beds. Probably these fossiliferous blocks had been noticed and preserved by the farmers when excavating the cave.

#### Loc. 22.

#### Shantung, 8 li SSE from Chin Ling Chen.

The locality where the fossil mammal remains were found is situated 8 li SSE from Chin Ling Chen railway station on the Shantung railway, on a small limestone hill, at the northern slope of which the find was made.

From Chin Ling Chen station, which is situated in the plain, the limestone terrain rises very gently to the south. Between these limestone hills every little depression is occupied by red clay, which is only locally covered by a few metres of loess.

The find was made in a small ravine on the northern slope of the above-mentioned hill.

The material in which the bones were found is partly reddish, partly gray, and in the latter case it is of loess-like appearance, inhomogeneous and containing plant remains as well as a few pebbles. The place where the bones were found is sloping and covered with grass, the whole indicating that this mat may have slipped down from above. These conditions make the age of the bones very uncertain. They may belong to the red clay but it is rather more probable that they were contained in a body of the covering loess which has slid down and become somewhat contorted and mixed with the underlying clay.

All the bones from this place had been collected by a villager in Chin Ling Chen and were bought from him. He accompanied us to the place, and I have no doubt that we were shown the place where the find had actually been made.

#### Loc. 24.

#### Shantung, I To Hsien, Yen Chia Chuang.

This locality is situated 8—10 li S. from Tzu Ho Tien railway station on the Shantung railway. The railroad here runs along the very outskirts of the limestone area that slowly rises to the south in low rounded barren hills. As is usually the case in this region, the red clay is very abundant, and just south of the said railway station a group of large grave-mounds, visible in all directions, seem to be entirely built up of the red clay. In the valleys between the rounded limestone-hills the erosion has cut magnificent ravines estimated to be 30—35 m. deep. The sections thus exposed mostly exhibit stratified clay, predominantly red in colour but with subordinate layers of a yellowish colour. It may be said that occasionally the differently coloured beds of the clay are flat lenticular in shape. In some places the clay is interstratified with gravel-beds of the usual type; in other sections these intercalations are entirely lacking. Concretions are rare and limestone-beds were nowhere noticed.

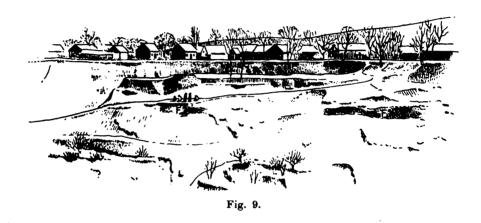
The lower and by far the greater part of the 30—35 m. of the ravine-sections consists of the red clay. Only the uppermost 5—8 m. are of loess. In most cases



the boundary line between the two sediments, the clay below and the loess above, is quite sharp and distinct, but gravel-beds were nowhere noticed between the two.

This description represents the normal relation of the two sediments, but locally the loess is of a much greater thickness, even occupying the whole section down to the bottom of the ravine. This confirms the observation made in many other places that considerable vertical erosion had taken place in the red clay prior to the deposition of the loess.

The bone-locality, which has yielded a large quantity of bones, is situated on the west side of the village of Yen Chia Chuang in the east wall of the ravine. Here the section is of the common type: a thin cover of loess over a thick deposit of red clay. In the upper part of the clay, only some 3—5 m. below the contact with



the loess, is a gravel-bed, about one m. thick. In this bed, which consists of subordinate gravel-layers interstratified with red clay, the bones were found, partly in the gravel, partly in the clay. The pebbles of the gravel, which is hardened somewhat into a conglomerate, are mostly angular and, as far as I have found, consist exclusively of limestone.

Owing to the gravel-like character of the deposit the bones were originally broken and fragmentary. They were much more broken during the process of excavation, but this could not be helped under the circumstances surrounding the find of this locality. It was reported by the local men to my collector Yao, and when he went there to examine the spot, the whole village turned out and started an animated cooperation to find the »dragon bones » and share in the profit to be gained by selling them to my man. Any effort to restrict the activity of the villagers would certainly have turned their friendliness into suspicion and hostility.

The fossiliferous gravel-bed was excavated in two places, only a few tens of metres apart. Both are marked with the letter F upon fig. 9.

#### Loc. 35.

Honan, Hsin An Hsien, Shang Yin Kou, from village W. 1 li.

In this locality the fossiliferous sediment is sand, which is a feature distinguishing this place from all the clay deposits of the Hipparion fauna. In this sand the teeth are darker than in the typical clay deposits.

The fossils collected in this place consist mostly of beautiful skulls of deer.

The locality is situated on the west side of the small river which flows past Shang Yin Kou, in a small ravine leading up W 10° N from the river.

The spot where the find was made is situated about 100 m. from the river on the northern side of the ravine close to a pear tree.

The sand in which the fossils have been found has a visible thickness of 1.2 metres, but its substratum is not exposed. In the sand there are a couple of layers of gravel, and the sand is overlaid to a thickness of at least two metres with very hard, nearly conglomerate gravel.

On the opposite (southern) side of the ravine there is also gravel, but in the uppermost part of the ravine I found typical red clay, which, however, contained large grains of quartz.

The red sand exhibits the same irregular, often vertical patches of a different colour as are often found in the typical red clay.

#### Loc. 36.

Chihli, Fang Shan Hsien, Tung Chuan, Huang Shih T'ang. Second cave.

In the valley leading from Toli up to Tung Chuan village several caves in the limestone hills have been explored by Chen and Yao.

Specially interesting and profitable was a cave situated about 3 li NNE from Tung Chuan in a narrow winding canyon. The walls of this canyon are very steep and estimated to be 100 to 200 metres high.

The rocks surrounding the cave are white sugar-grained marble, but at the foot of the cliff leading up to the cave there is an outcrop of thin-bedded micaceous slate. In the big marble blocks lying in the mouth of the cave very sharp folds can be noticed. It seems possible that this folding may partly account for the formation of the cave.

The soil on the floor of the cave in which the bones were found is yellowish-brown loam, which is, however, so intermixed with blocks of marble and cemented by calcareous incrustations that we had to use pickaxe, hammer and chisel in order to break loose pieces of this mass of loam and stone blocks. Under these conditions it was inevitable that the bones should be excavated in a rather fragmentary state.

That part of the cave-filling which has been excavated by us was two metres in length, one metre in width, and one metre in depth. The rock floor was met with over the greater part of this area.



#### Loc. 39.

#### Honan, Mien Chih Hsien, Lan Kou.

#### Third place.

From this locality Liu collected on 20.1.1920 a big block containing a large horse's skull. Also some smaller pieces, one containing a beautiful carnivore skull. The material very much resembles the material from the Lan Kou cave and Lan Kou section, and the find was made in the immediate vicinity of these localities.

#### Loc. 50.

#### Honan, Kung Hsien, Ching Kou, S 3 km.

On the 18th May 1921, when travelling in a small boat down the Yellow River, we were told about the find of an elephant's skull near the village of Ching Kou close to the river.

Though broken in many pieces, the skull was bought by me, and we then visited the site of the discovery, which we found to be located 3 km S. of the village of Ching Kou in a narrow and deep ravine. In the steep cliff, 30 m. above the bottom of the ravine and 15 m. below the edge of the plateau, the skull had been excavated in the vertical cliff above a narrow cultivated terrace. The material was pure and typical loess with lime concretions.

Loc. 69.
Chihli, Hsuan Hua Hsien, Ma Chia Yao.

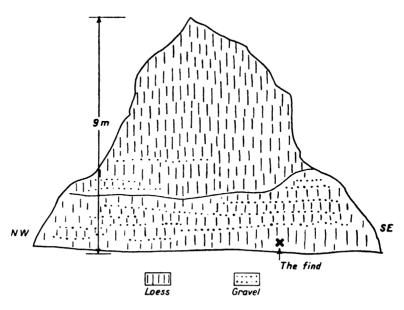


Fig. 10.

At this place I was given the opportunity to excavate a sheep's skull from redeposited loess with intercalations of gravel. Fig. 10 shows the stratigraphic conditions of the find.

Kansu, Hsi Ning Hsien, from city SW 20 li, Tiao Kou.

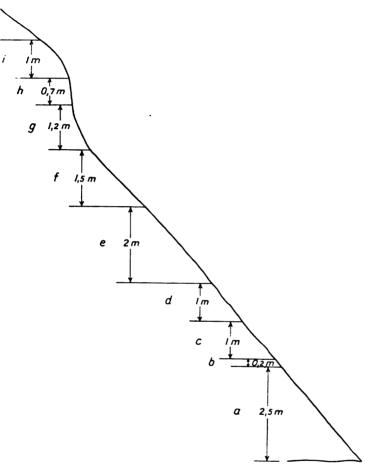


Fig. 11.

In the summer of 1923 we found a fossil mammal locality at this place. In a steep slope I measured the following section (fig. 11) counting from below:

- a. 2.5 m. Chocolate-brown brittle shale.
- b. 0.2 m. Green-grey marl.
- c. 1 m. Chocolate-brown brittle shale.
- d. lm. Green-grey brittle shale with bones.

- e. 2 m. Grass-covered.
- f. 1.5 m. Grass-covered.
- g. 1.2 m. Chocolate-brown shale with green-grey veins.
- h. 0.7 m. Tuffaceous, greyish-white limestone, partly oolithic.
- i. 1 m. Chocolate-brown shale.

Kansu. On the road from Lanchow to Tatung. Name of village Hsien Shui Ho. 110 li from Lanchow. 2.8.1924.

3 li E. of this village there is a place where remains of mammals where found close to a small valley with a swampy and saline stream. The upper part of the fossiliferous series is a red-brown hard clay, variegated with irregular, mostly vertical veins of a greenish-grey colour. The lower part of the fossiliferous series is a grey-green hard clay in which bones are numerous. The upper red clay is 1—2 metres in thickness. The visible thickness of the lower bed is less than a metre.

Above the red clay there is an erosion contact, irregular in shape, and above it there is hard sand and gravel, at least 4—5 m. thick. This is probably a much more recent deposit. The beds dip gently towards the E.

Two li SSE from the village my collector Pai had found the canine of a big mammal. Here the rock is a green thin-bedded shale with intercalations of thin white beds of limestone. There are also beds of conglomerate and gravel. The dip is 25° N. which seems to be the prevailing dip in this region. From a hill above the fossil locality I could look out over a large tract of red-bed hills with distinctly marked stratification and a dip 20°—30° N. In the green shale just mentioned there were only some leg bones, probably of Artiodactyls.

#### Kansu, Kuei Te Hsien, Shao Shui Kou.

During our stay in Kuei Te Hsien in August 1923 we spent the 29th—30th of that month on an excursion to a place where the occurrence of fossil bones had been reported.

We started from the archaeological site Lo Han T'ang, where we were then excavating. To the W. of this site there rises a "horst" of old crystalline rocks. We climbed the cliff of this horst and walked over its surface, which is almost on a level with small hillocks. Here we went for a distance of about 5 kilometres in approximately a NW direction until we reached the edge of the old rocks and looked down upon canyon scenery more magnificent than anything we had seen in the Kuei Te basin and recalling the views of the Colorado canyon in N. America.

When climbing down from the horst plateau we found a large bone in sand and fine gravel. On the western slope of the ravine in which we camped we found in sand and fine gravel the scapula of a huge mammal.

Far below the very high level in which the bones were found we saw both E. and W. of our camp the grey-green series which is such a conspicuous feature of



the Kueite series in this region. Close to the camping place there is a very big, almost vertical exposure of fine sand with current bedding and carbonized tree-twigs.

I noted down the Tibetan name of the place as Chigenu. The Chinese name is Shao Shui Kou, which is probably the name of the big ravine leading down to Huang Ho.

Kansu. Kuei Te Hsien. 12 li SW from the hsien city. Fossil mammal locality close to the temple of Chia Mo Ssu.

During our stay in this area in August 1923 a Tibetan boatman had told my collector Chen that fossil bones were found at this temple. On the 24th—26th of that month we undertook an excavation at the place.

The fossil locality is close to the temple. Behind the temple there is a considerable hill of nearly horizontal Kueite beds. Mostly chocolate-brown clay with thin green-grey intercalations.

The bone-carrying bed is of pure sand or fine gravel, which round the bones is cemented into a hard conglomerate. The bone-bed is only a few tens of metres above the level of the temple. A small body of the bone conglomerate has been dislocated a few metres downhill.

At first I suggested the possibility that the bone deposit was more recent than the real Kueite beds, but a close examination of the steep cliff gave no support to such an assumption. Thus it seems probable that the bone deposit belongs to the lowest part of the Kueite beds, which are accessible at the place.

In the rare cases in which bones were found in the loose sand they were so brittle that they could hardly be preserved. On the other hand, in the hard conglomerate they were in an excellent state of preservation. But the conglomerate was so closely jointed that only short sections could be taken out.



## CHINESE SCULPTURES OF THE SUNG, LIAO AND CHIN DYNASTIES

BY

#### OSVALD SIRÉN

In an article on Chinese marble sculptures of the Transition period, published in the BMFEA no. 12 (1940), I discussed some typical specimens of the remarkable sculptural production which flourished in the western part of the present Hopei province during the Northern Ch'i and the beginning of the Sui dynasty. The sculptures mentioned in the article could all be dated in the decade between 575 and 585. This rich harvest of religious art evidently diminished to some extent during the T'ang dynasty, when the North-West was no longer the main centre of the empire, but it did not entirely fade out. We have no doubt that important marble sculptures were also made in this part of the country during the classic epoch of the T'ang, though few of them seem to have been preserved. The most authentic specimens of this period are probably two statues representing seated Buddhas on high, altar-like pedestals in one of the upper storeys of the so-called Hua-t'a pagoda in Chêng-ting. These I had occasion to examine in 1929, when the pagoda was still accessible, while on my later visit to the place, in 1935, all the entrances to the pagoda were closed with solid brick walls, making it impossible to penetrate into the building. This may have been a measure of safety and protection, because the beautiful marble figures had been subjected to mutilation by school children (according to the statement of the people living at the pagoda), who, enlighted by a somewhat anti-religious education, took it upon themselves to obliterate the remains of a superstitious past. The heads and arms were smashed, but the torsos and legs of the figures were still preserved in 1929. On the pedestals of the figures were inscriptions of the T'ang-period; one of them containing the date K'ai Yüan 15th year, 4th month, corresponding to 727 (Pl. 1:1), while the other had an inscription of the Ching Lung reign (707-709). The figures were slightly less than life size and executed with great refinement in accordance with the best local traditions. Their full bodies with broad shoulders and narrow waists were modelled and draped according to Indian models, with closely fitting mantles of thin material laid in supple folds. The colours that had once covered the figures had been largely scraped off, and thus the beautiful white stone and the very sensitive modelling were partially revealed.

It is only to be regretted that the statues were not transported to a more ac-



cessible place, as they would certainly have served to increase our admiration for the artistic quality of Buddhist sculpture in this neighbourhood also during the T'ang period. As the building is now in a rather precarious state, their future can hardly be considered safe.

Other minor specimens of this kind of sculpture from the T'ang period may be found scattered among remains at Cheng-ting, Ting-chou, Chu-yang and elsewhere, but, as far as I know, none of them has a dated inscription or is of particular importance. The dated works from the end of the T'ang dynasty are, as a matter of fact, quite rare and insignificant as works of art. As an example may be quoted a small (h. 42 cm.) marble stele in the store-room of the Freer Gallery, dated in the year 889 (Pl. 2: 1-2). It represents on the front a Buddha between two Bodhisattyas, standing in a niche, and on the back a Maitreya Bodhisattya seated in a niche which is decorated on the outside with growing lotus plants. It is executed in Hopei marble by a rather simple sculptor, yet it retains some interest as a specimen of style, illustrating certain definite features, which were more or less characteristic of the period. The figures are flat and stiff, the garments being arranged in long parallel folds which gives them a somewhat rectangular or pillar-like appearance. If one compares a work like this with the Buddhist sculptures made in the 8th century, one realizes that the tendency of style has become archaistic, a fact also to be observed in the ornamental treatment of the lower hems of the garments, which are laid in spiralling curves of the same kind as on sculptures from the Transition period. This archaistic tendency is one of the features that becomes prominent in Chinese sculpture after the close of the T'ang-period, though temporarily (during the 12th century) outflanked by more voluble modes of expression due to the influence of painting. We shall have occasion in the following remarks to observe how these two tendencies, the one towards a somewhat archaistic linear treatment of form, the other of a freer and more »pictorial» character, were developed and sometimes combined in the sculptural production of the 11th and 12th centuries.

The Northern Sung period marked the great ascendency of painting and a decline of stone sculpture, which from now gradually lost its former leading position in the field of religious art. The sculptures made during the relatively short period of a little more than a century when the Sung House actually held sway over certain sections of northern China are on the whole not very important from an artistic point of view; the best and most characteristic among them were probably the works made in other materials than stone, i. e. clay, wood, iron and bronze, and most of these have been lost. The greatest examples still preserved are the sculptures in the Fo-hsiang ko of the Lung-hsing temple in Chêng-ting. This huge three-storied building, erected around one of the largest statues ever made in China, was still preserved in its main parts, though in a delapidated condition, at the time of my first visit to the place in 1929, but when I returned to Chêng-ting in 1935, the upper storeys had crumbled and the hall was largely open to the air, causing

further destruction to the sculptures it contained. The upper part of the huge central statue had been completely disfigured by crude restorations and reinforced by a hideous brick structure. This temple, according to contemporary documents. was begun in 971 at the same time as the casting of the great bronze statue of Kuan-vin, which reached a height of nearly 14 metres (Pl. 1: 2). According to an account in Chin Shih Ts'ui Pien, the statue was cast in seven parts: 1, the lotus pedestal. 2. the legs up to the knees. 3. the abdomen. 4. the torso, 5. the upper chest, 6. the shoulders, and 7. the head. »These parts were joined together, supplied with forty-two arms of bronze with the corresponding number of hands in wood. The entire surface wrapped first in cloth, then covered with lacquer, then again wrapped in cloth and finally finished with gold foil ».1) — The description may serve to give some idea of the extraordinary care bestowed in the execution of this great bronze figure and also of its original appearance. The forty-two arms have since disappeared, probably already in the K'ang Hsi period when the building and the statue were submitted to important repairs, and it may well be that the surface decoration of the statue with its scarves and chains was modified at the same time. It may thus have lost something of its original unity and stateliness, but it must always have been more impressive as a hieratic image than as a work of art. Nowadays, after the last radical defeaturing of the statue, including the renewal of the head, it looks more like a draped pillar in a narrow niche than a supreme religious image.

But the broad platform on which the statue stands preserves important parts of its original sculptured decoration. It is nearly two metres high, and its façade, which is lined with marble, is divided into three sections; the lowest being a kind of scole, in which supporting lions appear beneath a decorated plinth-beam, and the uppermost consisting of two broad friezes, sculptured with garlands, flowers and soaring apsaras, while the higher middle section is divided into compartments by banded pillars, each compartment containing a leaf-shaped sunken field, in which a playing or dancing female figure is represented in relief (Pl. 1: 3). It may be that the upper sections of this marble facing have also been restored or renewed at a later epoch, but the main part with the reliefs and the dividing pillars — two of them encircled by coiling dragons and one replaced by a kneeling man — is mainly original. The musicians and dancers, represented here almost en ronde bosse in varying attitudes, occupied either in blowing or beating their instruments or in stepping and moving arms and body in measure to the music, may be counted among the most attractive specimens of Sung sculpture (Pl. 2: 3, 4, 5). Their supple and graceful forms are beautifully rendered with flowing lines, which find a continuation in the fluttering scarves that connect them with the wavy contours of the framing fields. They are evidently made after the sketches of an accomplished master with a fine sense for rhythmic harmony and might have been ren-



<sup>1)</sup> Quoted from Tokiwa and Sekino, Buddhist Monuments in China, vol. III, engl. text.

dered in painting just as well as in sculpture, yet carefully modelled in every detail. — Further evidence of the high standard of these decorative sculptures is afforded by the dragons coiling round two of the supporting pillars; they too are executed with great technical refinement, their intricate play of lines expressing energy and tension as well as ornamental beauty.

The general characteristics of this kind of sculpture become still more evident in the large compositions executed in clay on the walls of the temple hall. They take the place of wall paintings, though rendered in high relief or almost in ronde bosse, and covered with rich colours. The wear of time and wanton destruction have done much to disfigure these large wall decorations; some of them have been entirely renewed in later times, but certain sections of the original work were still preserved at the time of my visits to the place. The best one was the composition on the east wall, which represents the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra riding on an elephant over the ocean accompanied by a host of heavenly beings (Pl. 3: 3). The lower section of the field is filled with tiers of figures, the one above the other, while the upper part is occupied by the ocean with its islands and boats, dragons and soaring apsaras and, highest up, by mountains of a distant shore. Sculpture has here been utilized instead of painting to represent a landscape of wide sweep through which the Bodhisattva with his retinue is moving on a mystic pilgrimage. The figures and the various elements of the landscape are modelled, but the whole thing is simply a transposition of a wall painting into clay. The artists who made it have no longer felt the fundamental difference between painting and sculpture.

How far they could reach in their pictorial transformation of sculpture could be observed in a large figure of a Kuan-yin on the same wall, nearer to the main statue, which is now destroyed (Pl. 3:1). The Bodhisattva was represented in frontal posture (with one leg down and the other folded on a lotus seat which projected from a rocky ledge, the head surrounded by a flaming halo. The forms were full and supple, marked by feminine grace, the loose garments draped in naturalistically treated soft folds. The whole figure had the suave dignity of a hieratic Sung painting; one could almost hesitate to decide whether it was made by a painter or a sculptor.

The close dependence on painting observable in the sculptures mentioned above is indeed most evident in the works executed in clay, but it also appears, to some extent, in statues cast in iron (as, for instance, the realistic guardians at Chin-tzu in T'ai-yüan hsien, made at the end of the 11th century) and in many wooden sculptures made during Sung and later times. They form a group of their own which cannot occupy us in this connection, the material being very large and subject to rather special requirements of style and technique. The preceding remarks about sculptures from the beginning of the North Sung dynasty in Chêng-ting should simply serve as an introduction to our study of the reflorescence of sculpture in this part of the country after it fell under the sway of the Chin Tartars. It is evident

that there existed a living tradition in the field of sculpture which also in the Sung period engendered excellent products and then grew into a still broader, more abundant flow of sculptural production during the reign of the Chin dynasty. This becomes particularly noticeable if one casts a glance at the production of sculpture in other parts of the country during the same period. It may well be said to have dwindled; very few stone sculptures of any importance are known from the central and southern provinces (then the home of painting), as may also be seen from my book on Chinese Sculpture from the fifth to the fourteenth century. Most of the specimens mentioned there as works of the 10th and 11th centuries are marble sculptures (i. e. from the North), executed after the establishment of the Chin state. Yet there are some exceptions, works made while the Sung were still masters of northern China, as för instance the important specimens reproduced in pl. 564-66: two kneeling Bodhisattvas, two reliefs and a small seated Bodhisattva, which, in my opinion, should all be dated at the very beginning of the North Sung dynasty, when classical traditions still exercised a restraining influence in sculpture and were combined with the tendency towards movement and more »pictorial» modes of composition. But these too were probably made in the northern part of the country; the Bodhisattvas and reliefs may have come from Hopei; while the very fine little seated figure (from the Eumorfopoulos collection) is made of the softer sandstone which is most common in Shansi (Pl. 3:2). They all exhibit a degree of refinement and purity of style which is not to be found in the works made after the conquest of the Chin, and are thus as works of art more akin to late T'ang sculpture than to the products of the succeeding reflorescence.

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The increase in the production of stone sculpture in northern China during the 11th and 12th centuries was closely connected with the rise of the foreign dynasties which successfully vied with the Sung emperors for the hegemony in that part of the country. They came down from the Manchurian plains, and in spite of some temporary setbacks caused by the imperial Sung armies (at the end of the 10th century), they succeeded in gradually increasing their domains with ever larger sections of Chinese territory, which gave them good reason to assume the standing of imperial dynasties. The first were the Ju-chens, a tribe of Tungusic origin, which shortly after the fall of the T'ang empire established the Liao dynasty and built a new capital on the site of Peking, from where they reigned not only over Manchuria but also over large sections of the present Hopei and Shansi provinces until about 1114, when they were defeated by their former subjects the Ch'i-tans, a Tangut tribe, which to begin with cooperated with the Sung. But as the Sung government of the time was incapable of fulfilling its part of the truce, the Ch'itans took the matter entirely into their own hands, set up a new dynasty under the name of Chin, and built a capital of their own close to the Liao city. Ten years later they invaded the domain of the Sung House, conquered the capital K'ai-feng

(in Honan) and caused the complete collapse of the Northern Sung empire (1125) with all the succeeding havor that is so well known from history. They were now rulers over the whole of northern China down to the Huai and Han rivers and remained as such for more than a century or up to their conquest by the Mongols (about 1234).

These conquering foreign people were, however, not simply hardy warriors with lust for booty and military power but were also animated by a desire to adopt as far as they could the superior culture of the vanquished; their system of government was organized according to indigenous traditions, carried out by Chinese officials, and they made their best to support the old cultural institutions of the country. Most remarkable in this respect were their efforts to protect and enliven the Buddhist religion, which at the end of the T'ang dynasty had suffered greatly through official persecution and consequent indifference on the part of the people. Their attitude was thus much the same as that of the T'o-pa Tartars — i. e. the Northern Wei dynasty — who during the 5th and early 6th centuries were the great promoters of Buddhist religion and art in northern China. Any number of temples and pagodas which had fallen into decay or been destroyed during the incessant wars were restored or newly erected and decorated with works of art, and this work was generally carried out in adherence to the principles of style and construction which had been normative at earlier times. Thus a kind of renaissance movement in the field of religions architecture and sculpture was called into life, producing a great number of buildings and statues which sometimes were so similar to the earlier models that they have often been confused with them. The Chinese artists and workmen who were employed for this purpose were evidently no longer of the highest class or capable of creating new original forms of expression for the traditional wants and concepts, but rather skilful artisans who found their inspiration in the works of the past rather than in any new impetus of religious fervour or artistic thought. Yet, it may well be admitted that they gradually developed a style of their own and new modes of expression in the field of decorative sculpture. They found here an easier opportunity of expressing their own sense of beauty and style than in the strictly hieratic figures which remained more traditional even from a stylistic point of view, as may be observed in many of the sculptures illustrated in the following pages.

We have no occasion to dwell here on the many pagodas and other architectural monuments which were erected during the reign of the Liao dynasty (in the 11th century) not only in Manchuria but also in the northern parts of Hopei and Shansi; most of them may be found reproduced in the large publication which my late friend T. Sekino devoted to the \*Buddhist monuments of the Liao and Chin periods \* (in Japanese). Many of these brick pagodas, which in their shapes and construction form a direct continuation of the T'ang structures, are also decorated with sculptures, but these are generally executed in baked clay and have consequently suffered much from the wear of time and weather if not by wanton destruction. A

typical example of the whole group is the well-known T'ien-ning ssu pagoda, which stands south of Peking within the precincts of the former Liao capital.

More important for their sculptural decoration are the pagodas and other memorial monuments which still remain at the very large Yün-chü temple near the village of Fang-shan, some 60 miles to the south-west of Peking. Here are two large well-preserved pagodas known as Nan t'a and Pei t'a and a number of minor towers and sutra-pillars executed in stone, some of which have important sculptural decorations, besides a great number of stone tablets engraved with Buddhist sutras. The activity started at Yün-chü ssū early in the T'ang dynasty (605) and was continued under the direction of a number of prominent Buddhist scholars in the course of many centuries, the plan being to engrave the whole Tripitaka on stone. After a pause at the end of the T'ang, it was resumed during the Liao, the last sutra engraving being executed in 1094. Thousands of tablets and stelae were engraved with the most important texts, some of which may still be seen in the rock-hewn rooms of the Hsiao Hsi-t'ien, not far from the pagodas, while others are said to have been buried in a cave under the Nan-t'a, which consequently was also called Ya-ching t'a or »the pagoda pressing on the scriptures» (Pl. 4:2). This took place in 1117, the year which also indicates the date of the erection of the pagoda.1) The other pagoda, or Pei t'a, may have been erected a little earlier, possibly replacing a structure of the T'ang period; around it stand four small stone pagodas, which are dated by inscriptions in 712, 722 and 727.

If one compares the sculptures of these small early pagodas with those which decorate the ground storeys or socles of the two large pagodas, one may easily observe a considerable change of style, the earlier being executed in the rather restraining classic manner of early T'ang, characterized by a firm linear definition of beautifully modelled figures, while the latter reveal a more »pictorial» or baroque manner. The figures have become broad and heavy, their forms are rendered in floating masses of light and shade as if they were modelled in a softer material than limestone. Some of the figures serve as carrying supports for projecting beams, others are represented in attitudes of running or attacking with weapons in their hands; they all exert their limbs and bodies in one way or other; the artists have paid mare attention to the movements than to the forms (Pl. 4: 3). The motifs are evidently illustrations to popular legends; they are continued in frieze-like compositions around the ground storeys of the pagodas and rendered with more insistence on the pictorial play of light and shade than on well-defined sculptural bodies. Their interest in this respect is considerable, even though the excution is not of the highest class, because they reveal the tendency towards a kind of plastic baroque, which we shall find more or less developed in many sculptures of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Quite close to the Nan t'a stand two octagonal stone pillars which in their sculp-

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Tokiwa and Sekino, Buddhist Monuments in China, vol. III. ss. 60-65.

tured pedestals and roofs resemble small pagodas. In the one case the main body of the pillar, which rises above a beautifully modelled pedestal (decorated with figures and animals in relief), is provided with a long inscription by the famous monk Chih-ts'ai of the year 1118 (Pl. 4:1), but in the other case the pillar is carved with flat niches containing seated Buddhas and adoring bhikshus in three successive storeys (Pl. 5: 1). The figures are quite simple — they are placed in strictly frontal postures and rendered in rather flat shapes, though partly undercut — yet significant from a stylistic point of view owing to the linear treatment of the mantle folds and the somewhat uniform types (Pl. 5: 2. 3. 4). The mantles of the seated Buddhas fall down in symmetrical curves from the shoulders over the arms and the knees and receive a continuation in the curving folds of the long draperies, which are laid over the high, altar-like seats of the divine beings. All these folds are rendered simply by deep linear grooves (mostly doubled) on the flat broad surface of the Buddhas' garments. On the standing side-figures the same grooved fold-lines appear in the shape of diagonal curves on the front of the pillar-like figures. It is a kind of linear stylization which serves to accentuate the stiffness of the figures, their broad frontality and schematic uniformity. It need hardly be pointed out that all these small figures are the work of an ordinary artisan, but none the less deserving of attention as being types or formulae for hieratic religious images. They are indeed very simple and reveal nothing of the tendency towards a baroque or »pictorial» style which we observed in the frieze of the main pagoda, if not by their lack of a more definite sculptural quality. They may thus be said to represent a different current of style than the baroque manner of the frieze reliefs mentioned above, which was obviously less suited to isolated hieratic figures. The simpler mode of linear stylization may, as a matter of fact, be observed in a number of sculptures executed during the 11th and 12th centuries, though often in combination with elements of a more pictorial kind, such as bits of landscape, animals, minor accessory figures and the like. To illustrate this we shall here mention a few examples, some of which will be found reproduced in Chinese Sculpture from the fifth to the fourteenth century.

We refer to such sculptures as the pillar-like Bodhisattva, formerly in the Wannieck galleries in Paris (Pl. 569), and the seated Kuan-yin in the Louvre (Pl. 568). The rendering of the strongly accentuated grooved folds is in both cases quite characteristic, but the Kuan-yin figure is placed against a high slab, which is moulded so as to suggest a rocky landscape with some small figures. A further development of the same compositional type may be seen in a smaller sculpture, formerly at Yamanaka's in New York, which represents the Bodhisattva seated on a rocky ledge in a kind of *lalitasana* posture, while some animals appear at the side of the background slab, (Pl. 6: 1), and also on the marble stele in the Freer Gallery, which is dated in the year 1091 and represents the same Bodhisattva in a similar posture, placed on a rock which rises above a rushing stream where a dragon is coiling (Pl. 6: 3). A monk and a lion are standing by the water while

the background is modelled into a leafy grove of large trees, under which some small figures and other accessories are placed. Another excellent example of this same mode of composition is the marble figure, formerly at Yamanaka's, and dated in the year 1158, of a Lohan (Arhat) playing with a tiger cub. He too sits on a rock, turning sideways, patting the animal which crawls on his knee, but the upper part of the background slab is formed into the domed roof of a cave. A small man carrying some burdens on a long staff is seen walking along the cliff (Pl. 6: 2). One more Lohan statue of a somewhat similar kind was formerly in the possession of M. Rousset of Paris (Cf. Chinese Sculpture, pl. 582). All these statues are executed in the white marble of north-western China with remarkable technical refinement and insistence on the linear stylization of the grooved folds.

The same general method of hard, somewhat mechanical fold-treatment and firm linear definition of the sculptural form may be observed in several simpler statues of Lohans, or monks, seated with folded legs in strictly closed postures on rocky seats. The best example of these is a statue, dated in the year 1146, in the Pao-an temple at Pai-tu village, in Tang-hsien (Pl. 6:4.) In a figure like this, the similarity with the Buddhas on the pillar by the Nan-t'a at Fangshan becomes still more striking in view of the symmetrical arrangement of the grooved folds and the stiff hieratic posture of the monk. (Other examples may be found in the Museum at Cologne). These rather simple figures may be said to reveal an archaistic tendency, which can be further followed in a number of sculptures to which we shall revert presently. But before we turn to them it seems necessary to pay some attention to a different kind of sculpture, which was produced at the same period but in a freer or more decorative manner, reminiscent of the broad and fluent style which we observed in the friezes of the pagodas.

In order to realize how these two currents of style or modes of sculptural treatment lived on side by side and were sometimes combined, we should return to those places in western Hopei which were mentioned in my previous article dealing with the rich artistic production of the late sixth century. The old traditions of marble sculpture were apparently continued here throughout the centuries and time and again developed to a high degree of perfection. The material from this neighbourhood is still abundant, though most of it is now in a somewhat mutilated condition, and many of the pieces have been exported to foreign lands. The best that still remains at the places of origin are some pagodas and sutra pillars, such as the Lin-chi ssū pagoda of 1185 in Chêng-ting, but we will not here dwell on the architectural monuments. The sculptural style can be better studied on detached figures and some minor sutra or memorial pillars.

The earliest and largest of these is probably one that stands in Tang-hsien, and which is known to me only through a private photograph. Consequently I cannot vouch for the inscribed date, which, according to my informant, is 1041 (Pl. 7: 2). Judging from the style, the pillar might be later, but however that may be,



it is an imposing example of the type of Buddhist memorial monuments that were made during the 12th century as well. The octagonal pillar is divided into seven sections (including the pedestal) separated by four projecting octagonal blocks, which serve as a kind of roof cornices to the successive storeys. They are abundantly decorated with garlands, tassels and minor figures and form a roof-like shelter above the flat niches, hollowed out on some of the faces of the interposed sections of the pillar. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in these niches are apparently of a rather classic type, made in accordance with earlier traditions, and though the decoration on the cornices is very rich and quite \*pictorial\* in its display of tassels, garlands, folded draperies and soaring apsaras, appearing in successive layers, it is carved in a manner that still retains something of the strength and distinction of T'ang art. The sculptures on this monument may be said to represent the transition from the classic art of T'ang to the fully developed decorative style of the Liao and Chin.

Similar in type and composition, though somewhat simpler and smaller in size, is the pillar erected in 1180 to the memory of the great teacher Kuang-hui, quite close to the Lung-hsing temple in Chêng-ting (Pl. 7:1). The roof and parts of the top storey are missing, but one may still observe some of the Bodhisattvas which stood here. Below them projects a heavy octagonal slab, which is hollowed out on each side into cave-like niches, in which figures are placed. The broad cornice over the next storey is decorated with lion masks, from which heavy garlands are suspended, serving as supports for meditating Buddhas (Pl. 7:3). All these parts are executed in high relief almost like sculptures in the round. Lower down, under the middle section of the pillar, follows a lotus-pedestal and a high frieze decorated with eight fairly large mythical beings or rakshas, who exert themselves to the utmost as they carry the whole structure on their shoulders and lifted arms. Finally, below the broad cornice of the socle are four lions, serving as guardians, their heads, bulging chests and forelegs projecting from the octagonal slab (Pl. 7: 4.) Like the rest of this decoration they are executed in a very fluent manner, their broad forms emerging from the stone slab like gnarled roots from an old tree-stump. It is a favorite motif, which returns on most of these pedestals for pillars, of which there are quite a few still to be seen in Chü-yang. Some of them may have served as supports for lanterns or large bowls, others for memorial pillars, but they are all composed of conventionalized lotus-calices in combination with the projecting foreparts of lions of the type mentioned above (Pl. 8:5). When sections of round or octagonal pillars are interposed between the different parts, they are sometimes decorated with coiling dragons, as may be seen on two of the most beautiful pedestals, one of them serving as support for a large stone To describe several of these fragmentary monuments in detail seems hardly necessary, as their compositional elements and style of execution are fairly uniform. They form all together a group of decorative sculpture which was much in vogue in the 11th and 12th centuries and which, from a stylistic point of view,

illustrates the rather baroque tendency of decoration which we have noticed in several of the contemporary monuments.

Less characteristic of this and simpler of their kind are the two memorial pillars which in recent years have been transported to Kyoto in Japan; the one standing by the museum, the other in Mr. Fuji's garden. The latter is almost covered with small niches in which Buddhas are placed, though divided as usual in sections by projecting slabs decorated with lion-masks, garlands and flying apsaras. Its place of origin is unknown to me, but it is evident that it also belongs to the abovementioned group and represents a fairly early type.

No less important as specimens of the prevalent style of decorative sculpture are the various lion statues which still remain in Chü-yang, most of them represented somewhat larger than life size. There are still half a dozen of them in existence, though the buildings which they once guarded have been destroyed. Judging from their style, they must all be of the 12th century, when Chü-yang was a place of importance with many temples and halls serving the purpose of the official sacrifices to the spirit of Hêng Shan, the sacred mountain of the North, which from time to time were performed here, as testified in the inscriptions on several tablets. The lions, all of white marble, are represented in the traditional attitude, seated with stretched forelegs and wide-open jaws, but if one compares them with their predecessors of classical times (7th-8th centuries), one realizes that they have lost all the wild bestiality and powerful massivity of the great guardians of T'ang (Pl. In spite of the curving necks with thick mane, the enormous jaws and the apparent tension in their stretched limbs, they seem almost like curveting theatrical beasts or toys. Their bulging bodies and limbs are soft, the modelling is floating, and there is no insistence on the structural joints, no convincing rendering of muscles or nerves, though the claws and the curls of the mane are carefully exhibited. They are thus important examples of their kind, illustrating the trend of style which we have observed in the ornamental sculptures, quite effective from a decorative point of view but with no attempt to create an adequate sculptural form for the proud motifs. That was beyond the faculty of the skilful artisans of the day who were engaged on such works.

The same holds true also of most of the Buddhist sculpture made during this epoch in the same part of the country. The production was abundant, but in spite of the motifs it was made more to serve as decoration than as works of art inspired by the fire of devotion of creative thought. A prominent series of such sculptures passed some twenty years ago through the hands of various dealers in Peking and have since been scattered in a number of collections in America and Japan. They were all said to come from a place \*near Pao-ting or Ting-chou\*, an indication that is fully supported by the quality of the marble and the workmanship, and, to judge from the fact that some of these figures are attached to slabs of varying size and form, they must have formed part of the decoration of an architectural monument, probably a pagoda. I have seen at least a dozen of them, all about



1 metre high, executed in the round, though in many cases attached to background slabs, partly cut off, and in addition to these there are some larger statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas belonging to the same group.

Most of the minor figures represent standing Bodhisattvas, some placed in frontal view, others turned in half profile, but all dominated by a swaving motion which is brought out by the curving folds of the long garments and scarves (Pl. 8: 2). Prominent examples of this type are the two figures now in the University Museum at Philadelphia. They are particularly broad and opulent with large heads, turned in half-profile, high waists and long legs, the one serving as support, the other placed sideways, while their bodies are turned at the hips, which brings out the floating S-like curve (Pl. 9:2). This dominating rhythm, which is further developed by the trailing dhoti and very long scarves, implies grace in spite of the somewhat massive forms which are rendered with an effective play of light and shade. The modelling has the baroque or »pictorial» quality, though the forms and draperies are nevertheless well defined by leading lines. These two figures are among the best examples of the whole series of Bodhisattvas, of which there are at least five more (formerly on the market in Peking), which, even though they are represented in somewhat varying postures, all conform to the same type and decorative arrangement. Only one of them is shown seated on an altarlike pedestal in a more hieratic posture, against a background slab on which the halo is engraved with spiraling ornaments. Beside the Bodhisattvas there are two standing Buddhas of the same size and type, draped in heavy mantles falling down in abundant folds from the shoulders but leaving the very broad and fleshy chests bare (Pl. 10:1). They are lacking in movement and thus appear more massive and uncouth than the Bodhisattvas.1)

One of these Buddha figures formed part of the Munthe collection in Peking, which also contained two other figures of the same series, one representing a dvarapala in a highly strained, vehement attitude (Pl. 8: 3), the other a praying monk who stands with hands folded on his breast and his head thrown back (Pl. 8: 1). Both are remarkable for the emotional ennervation which finds expression in their momentous attitudes and gestures. In the case of the dvarapala the divine strength and watchfulness are brought out in the vehement turning of the naked torso and the gigantic head as well as by the movement of the arms and the fluttering scarves, whereas the monk, who stands absolutely motionless, steeped in fervent prayer, appears like a symbol of deep spiritual devotion. The figure, which is completely covered up by the thick mantle and placed almost in profile against the background slab, is quite simple, but so striking is the attitude that the monk may be considered one of the most expressive human representations in Chinese sculpture. Like all these sculptures, it is treated in a very fluent man-



<sup>1)</sup> Several of these figures are reproduced in Chinese Sculpture (pl. 541—47) among the works from the very end of the T'ang period, but in my *History of Early Chinese Art*, vol. III, they are mentioned among \*Sculptures after the close of the T'ang period \*.

ner, perfectly suited for rendering the soft material of the thick mantle, and the definition of the hands and the head is very slight, but the form as a whole is well brought out and collected into an impressive plastic volume by the broad planes of the sweeping mantle. Indeed, in all its simplicity this figure affords important evidence of how the baroque or "pictorial" sculpture of the time could occasionally reach a level of emotional expressiveness and impressionistic form such as were entirely unknown to the religious art of earlier periods. It was sometimes carried beyond merely decorative effects and it then succeded in creating quite new modes of artistic beauty.

This is also verified by a very large (almost 3-metre high) statue which now stands in the Metropolitan Museum, but which was formerly seen in Peking, when it was said to originate from the same neighborhood as the smaller sculptures described above. It is made of the same material and according to the same decorative style as the minor Bodhisattvas, though the formula has been much enlarged and worked out with greater care and with more insistence upon the rhythmic flow of the lines than is observable in the smaller figures inserted in walls or arches. The statue, which represents a Kuan-yin Bodhisattva, has apparently stood in a free central position; it is completely finished on the back as well as on the front (Pl. 9: 1)1). The general effect is imposing; the full and strong figure is stepping forward like an opera diva who is conscious of her enchanting powers, though at the moment collected in thought. This is due chiefly to the unifying, stately rhythm of the garments, the long scarf and the trailing dhoti, which accentuate the slight bending and turning of the body and the sidewards movement of the right leg (the left serving as the main support). The posture, as well as the arrangement of the floating folds, is practically the same as in the smaller Bodhisattvas. One may also notice the identity of such details as the attachment of the dhoti by a double scarf around the hips which falls from a rectangular buckle, like a long lobe or tail right down between the knees. The bearing of the well developed torso is also quite similar, though the suppleness of the smaller curving figures is to some extent restrained or transformed into a more symmetrical flow of lines, which contribute to the impression of self-conscious dignity. From a strictly formal point of view the statue may be called monumental, solemn and imposing, owing to its size and elongated proportions, — i. e. a very successful enlargement of the decorative formula of the minor Bodhisattvas — but it has no appeal or power of conviction as a religious symbol. It makes us realize that superior skill and a perfect sense of rhythm are not sufficient to lend spiritual significance to a work of art.

This becomes still more evident if we turn our attention to some fairly large Buddha statues which by their types and general stylistic criteria fit in with the minor decorative figures mentioned above, even though they appear rather inferior



<sup>1)</sup> Reproduced in pl. 540 in Chinese Sculpture with the remark: \*may have been executed after the close of the T'ang dynasty\*, and again in an article by Prof. L. Bachhofer in Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1938, T. 12, where it is dated in the second half of the 10th century.

as works of art. All these statues stood formerly in the garden of General Munthe in Peking and are now, as far as I know, in the museum in Los Angeles. They are said to have come from the same place (in the neighbourhood of Pao-ting), a statement which is supported by the quality of the material and the workmanship. There were four such Buddha statues in the Munthe collection; the largest about 21/2 m. in height, the others somewhat smaller, all representing the Buddha seated on a high altar-like pedestal.1) The figures are excessively broad and massive, encompassed by the symmetric outlines in triangular shapes, as may be observed particularly in the largest statue (Pl. 10: 2). The Buddha is represented with folded legs on the broad seat, the mantle falling down from the shoulders spreads over the knees and unites with the drapery, which is laid over the seat and arranged in series of curving folds, which again are collected into a general triangular shape accentuated by the large pointed lobe in the centre. The general outline of the statue is thus dominated by two triangles, the one rising to the top of the head, the other pointing downwards. The same compositional scheme is repeated in two of the somewhat smaller statues, though modified by the curving rhythm of the multiplied folds in the hanging lobe of the drapery (Pl. 10:3). These two figures, moreover, are raised higher, as under their pedestal are broad plinths or podia, on which two crouching lions are represented as supporters of Buddha's throne. A similar arrangement may have existed at the foot of the larger statue. though it is now missing. The fourth of these statues, which is less well preserved, represents the Buddha seated with legs down and the mantle falling over the sides of the altar-like seat, which however is supported at the two rear corners by small guardian figures. Here the stiff symmetrical arrangement is less accentuated; the folds of the wide mantle have a softer and freer flow, the statue being altogether more closely reminiscent of the compositional types that were common in the T'ang period.

The decorative effect of these imposing statues is thus mainly dominated by the linear stylization, but within this general frame (if it may be so called) the folds of the wide mantles and the full forms of the bare chests are modelled with much care and feeling for the soft textures. The workmanship is quite similar to that of the previously mentioned sculptures; it has the fluent "pictorial" quality which, as mentioned before, is to some extent subject to a linear coherence. This correspondence of style and workmanship seems close enough to justify our opinion that all these sculptures are products of the same workshop, and their close affinity is furthermore proved by the identity of the types: the flat and broad facial masks with a peculiarly haughty expression. It may also be added that the lions which support two of the Buddhas' thrones belong to the same artificial race as the guardian lions at Chü-yang.

Yet, in spite of all the similarities in style and type, the enthroned Buddha

<sup>1)</sup> Two of these seated Buddhas are reproduced in pl. 584 in Chinese Sculpture as works of the Chin dynasty.

statues do not quite reach the level of the sculptures previously mentioned, mainly because they pretend to be something more than decorative sculptures and exhibit no attempts at such contraposto movements and variegated linear rhythms as lend more interest to the minor figures as well as to the large Bodhisattva statue. They are conceived as hieratic beings in complete repose, their forms being so heavy and their lines so strictly symmetrical that they seem quite incapable of any movement, which means that the forms are empty and the lines slack. Still more than in the case of the large Bodhisattva statue do they reveal the impotence of this school of sculpture to convey significance to religious symbols.

We must thus assume that various sculptors of somewhat different training and individual merit have taken part in the production of this long series of Buddhist statues. The work of decorating the pagoda and the temple, for which all these sculptures were made, may have been continued for some time, the architectural pieces being executed a little earlier than the free standing cult-figures, but they must all have been products of the same workshop and were probably made within two or three decades.

The inequality of the workmanship within this group of sculptures becomes still more evident if we also take into consideration some additional figures in the same collection: three standing figures, almost life size, representing a Buddha, a Bodhisattva and a monk, and two seated Bodhisattvas, i. e. Manjusri on the lion and Samantabhadra on the elephant. (Cf. plate 582 in Chinese Sculpture). The animals of the two last mentioned are however out of proportion to the figures and can only be explained as later substitutes, whereas the Bodhisattvas themselves look like somewhat effeminate descendants of the race which is more hieratically represented by the Buddhas, the unfavourable impression being strengthened by their positions on the too high and clumsy pedestals. The tall standing figures are perhaps more satisfactory from a sculptural point of view, particularly the Buddha and the monk, both of whom are draped in mantles of soft and heavy material, which fall from the shoulders over the elbows and lifted arms in broad folds without any sharp The linear stylization of the folds which seemed so prominent in some of the preceding statues is here substituted by a more naturalistic treatment, which may be a sign of a somewhat more advanced stage in the evolution of style, yet, one may at the same time observe in the general outline of the figures a tendency towards pillar-like or elongated elliptical shapes, which is decidedly archaistic. The very large and full heads are disfigured by the restoration of the noses. In spite of the differences noticeable in the treatment of the draperies, there can be no doubt that the last mentioned statues — Manjusri and Samantabhadra and the three standing ones — also belonged to the same ensemble as the hieratic Buddhas and the minor architectural pieces, though, as pointed out before, they may have been executed at a somewhat later date. Still, they are all of the 12th century, while the Chin dynasty was in its heyday, and illustrate the most naturalistic phase of what we have called the decorative style of this epoch.

Contemporary with this style, which on the whole had a »pictorial» quality, more or less restrained by the accentuation of leading lines and a flowing rhythm, existed a current of definitely archaistic character. We have no means of deciding when it first appeared, as none of the examples of it bear a date, but we have no doubt that it lived during the 12th century. The products of this may indeed, from an artistic point of view, be considered not very important, but their historical interest is quite unusual, for in some instances they resemble earlier models so closely that they have often been confused with them. Not a few of these archaistic marble sculptures of the Chin period have been appreciated and placed on the market as products of T'ang or earlier periods, whose style they reproduce. They afford the most palpable proofs of the fact that many of the sculptors, like the builders who worked in the Liao and Chin realms in northern China, were animated by a desire to recreate the glories of earlier times, yet were more or less incapable of giving any fresh and original expression to the traditional religious symbols or concepts.

The specimens of the archaistic current of style belong mainly to the Ting-chou and Chü-yang group; some have found their way to western collections, others are still to be found in the neighbourhood. Most remarkable among the latter is the large statue which stands at Chu-ho village some 20 li east of Chü-yang. The temple that once protected the Buddha is now destroyed, and the huge marble stands out impressively in silhouette against the sky (Pl. 11: 1). Seen at a distance, it appears like one of the great Buddhas of the latter part of the 6th century (mentioned in my previous article), but upon closer examination it becomes evident that it cannot be as early, even though it retains the general stylistic features and mannerism of the late 6th century sculptures. The form has become more flat, the proportions are heavier, the head likewise flat and very large in proportion to the figure. The facial mask appears empty without any introspective beauty or animation. Still more noticeable is the modification in the treatment of the garment; is does not sweep smoothly over the forms, but hangs heavily from the shoulders, forming clusters of straight folds below the arms, series of curving grooves over the front, and somewhat intricate patterns of spirals and ear-mussels at the hems. The whole arrangement is lacking in functional clearness and reason, the traditional patterns being reproduced in a more or less confused way. They are not subject to a unifying rhythm or sense of plastic beauty and significance. The closer one examines a statue like this, the clearer it reveals itself not as a genuine work of the Transition period but as an imitation, executed during the reflorescence of religious sculpture in the 12th century. The actual period of execution may also be verified by a comparison of this statue with that of the (much smaller) seated Lohan or monk in the village of Pai-tu, previously mentioned, which is dated 1146; the technical execution of the folds and of the facial features, is similar though they appear more schematic in the larger sculpture.

Another Buddha statue of almost equal size stands in a small abandoned temple in Ting-chou, which was evidently constructed around the figure in relatively recent

times, when moreover the statue itself was covered with thick layers of coloured and gilt plaster, which makes it difficult to reach a safe conclusion as to its original appearance (Pl. 12: 1). The general pattern is that of the Sui dynasty, but the relative coarseness of the feet and the hands as well as the somewhat schematic treatment of the folds seem to indicate that this too is a later performance in adherence to the style of the Transition period. More evident in this respect is the Buddha statue in a ruined temple in Hsi-ku village, near Chü-yang (Pl. 11: 3), for in this case the stylization of the abundant mantle folds shows the peculiar combination of flourishing scrolls and curving grooves which is more or less characteristic of all these later products. It is also easily observable on a somewhat smaller Buddha statue in the local museum at Ting-chou, the figure being draped in very abundant garments, arranged after a manner of stylization which reminds us of late archaic sculptures (Pl. 11:4). But here again the conventional features are overdone; the pattern at the hem has become superficially ornamental; there are too many scrolls and waving lines, while the folds over the shoulders are indicated with deep, quite schematically arranged grooves. The facial mask with the sharply cut features appears quite empty, independent of the fact that the head has been wrongly fixed on to the body.

Furthermore to this same group of archaizing sculpture may be referred six fairly large statues, which have evoked much admiration for their decorative qualities. They are quite uniform, all representing a Buddha seated in varada and abhaya mudra (all the hands are now missing) on a high, doubled lotus-pedestal in front of a very large and richly decorated nimbus in the form of a huge leaf or ovoid screen behind the figure. One of them is now in the museum at Detroit (Pl. 11: 2), the others probably in private collections; I have seen them at Yamanaka Co. in Osaka, in Mr. Strehlneck's house in Shanghai (two pieces), in Kelekian's gallery in New York and at Wannieck's in Paris (Pl. 12: 2). They are all of exactly the same type and workmanship, and the somewhat micaceous marble of which they are made indicates that they come from the neighbourhood of Chü-yang or Ting-chou, and it may well be that the series included one or two more statues of a similar kind. Moreover, close comparison of these monuments with the Buddha statue at Chu-ho ts'un may serve to confirm the local origin as well as the correspondence of style.

The general compositional features of these statues are thus quite similar to those of many sculptures of the late archaic or the Transition period, but they have been enlarged and rather exaggerated so as to give a more striking, not to say pompous, decorative effect. The large nimbuses are decorated with conventionalized flames and five small Buddhas of the past seated in lotus-flowers, executed in high relief, partly with strongly accentuated raised edges. Around the heads are haloes of lotus-petals framed by broad circular borders of lotus-wreaths, likewise chiselled in a somewhat hard mechanical manner, though in lower relief. The flat facial masks with sharply cut features, broad eyes, a long straight nose

and a small mouth are characterized by a coquettish smile, which can hardly be said to reflect any inward beauty or harmony, but rather a desire to appeal to the beholder through their altogether too obvious loveliness. The religious inspiration of former times seems to have been turned into a more wordly sentiment such as would be more fitting for dancing beauties than for meditating Buddhas. The mannerism in the treatment of the mantle folds is carried out in a similar fashion with obvious lack of a sense of rhythm and functional significance. The grooves indicating the folds over the shoulders and the legs are sometimes broken off quite arbitrarily, sometimes greatly exaggerated, and the lines of the hems laid over the pedestal are curving and billowing restlessly without any unifying rhythm, though with a tendency towards the ornamental patterns of earlier sculptures. hems are flapping and waving instead of forming rhythmically restrained ornaments. The sculptors have no longer felt the artistic significance of the traditional motifs but simply rendered what seemed to them a general appearance, trying to make it more intricate and variegated, thus losing the essentials of the old models. But the statues are nevertheless quite imposing from a decorative point of view and have evoked much admiration not only from the local people but also on the part of western collectors and experts, who have considered them to be prominent examples of early Chinese sculpture. Such a view is indeed, as stated above, misleading, but the statues are of considerable importance as testifying to remarkable technical skill and the great desire to call into life again a kind of religious art which had been dead for several centuries.

\* \*

The problems connected with the last-mentioned sculptures might give occasion to enter into a more general discussion of imitations after early Chinese sculptures, made in marble as well as in other kinds of stone and in wood. The somewhat extensive material would however carry us far beyond the limits of the present article, in which we are concerned with works made in the 11th and 12th centuries. Sculptures of an archaistic type adhering more or less closely to models of earlier dates have been made in China ever since the end of the T'ang period and are still produced; and it may be pointed out that the sculptors who were responsible for such creations before the 20th century had no intention of deceiving or of making things that could be sold as works by the old masters. It is only in modern times that such products have become common and the art of the Chinese impostor has been developed to perfection, the result being that excellent imitations after archaic sculptures are nowadays found in many public and private collections. The imitative or archaising sculptures of earlier dates are, as a rule, marked to some extent by the style of the epoch at which they were made; they were executed to complete or to replace earlier sculptural decorations in adherence to a tradition of religious imagery which had been developed ever since the introduction of Buddhism into China. This holds true of the archaistic sculptures mentioned above.

But besides these there are a number of sculptures in marble as well as in grey limestone, executed in a more uncouth manner by ordinary artisans, which may be classified among the imitations. The most numerous are perhaps to be found among the minor stelae in white marble, composed according to the types of the Transition period, but carved after a manner lacking in the refinement and grace of the epoch. Their artistic importance is so slight that they need hardly detain us in this connection, and they have mostly been relegated to the store-rooms of the museums (e. g. Musée Cernuschi and the Freer Gallery), though some are still exhibited in private collections. Other examples of such inferior workmanship, which by its very lack of artistic quality may cause some hesitation as to the actual date of execution, are a number of standing Bodhisattva figures (nearly 1 m. high), of which four were reproduced in Chinese Sculpture, pl. 527—28 and four briefly mentioned with the remark that they are executed in a somewhat archaistic style and cannot be dated before the T'ang period (Pl. 12: 3). The hesitation regarding their period of origin which I then felt, seems to me well founded, and I would like to add, that these Bodhisattva statues, of which at least eight are known to me, might just as well have been made after the close of the T'ang period. The relatively poor workmanship makes it very difficult to reach any definite conclusion regarding their dates, and they are not necessarily all from the same workshop, some being executed in marble, while others are of grey limestone.

These latter, which were formerly represented by two prominent examples in Charles Vignier's galleries in Paris, may serve as links with two rather important, quite well known larger statues which have been variously dated, i. e. the seated Buddha in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, formerly considered a work of the T'ang period but nowadays placed in the 12th century, and a seated Bodhisattva of similar type and style in the Freer Gallery, which is classified as an archaistic work (Pl. 12:4). Both statues are made of grey limestone and are quite similar in composition, the figures being seated with folded legs on broad podia and provided with very large circular haloes behind their heads and shoulders. In their types, the stylization of the mantle folds, the decorative details, and particularly in the very prominent lotus-patterns of the large haloes, they accord with sculptures executed towards the end of the North Ch'i dynasty at Pei Hsiang t'ang (near Chang-te-ho in northern Honan), but they lack something of the freshness and natural charm that generally ennoble the creations of the period.1) The execution is not so uncouth as in the standing Bodhisattva figures mentioned above, but it is rather mechanical. Our doubts as to the date of the minor standing figures may also apply to these two larger statues, an opinion which found expression in Chinese Sculpture (1925), where the statues are classified among works »in the manner of the period of the Six dynasties, though executed later», and placed



<sup>1)</sup> These two statues have lately been published by Prof. Otto Fischer in an article in *Pantheon* 1940 as specimens of the West Hopei school of marble (!) sculpture from the end of the 6th century.

in direct relationship to sculptures of the Liao and Chin dynasties. This early opinion of mine may be correct, though I must admit, that since I have observed the close connection between these statues and some of the sculptures in the cave temples at Pei Hsiang t'ang, I feel less sure about their period of execution. Some of the cave sculptures at this place are hardly superior, and the abundant ornamentation of their large haloes and other accessories seems almost equally schem-But it should be recalled that the artistic activity at Pei Hsiang t'ang was not limited to the North Ch'i dynasty but continued also in the Sung and Ming dynasties (not to speak of later restorations). This is proved by some of the later inscriptions, and it should also be noted that quite close by, at the Ch'ang-lo temple, stands a sutra pillar of the type that we know from Chêng-ting, which was erected in 962, but its sculptured figures are too insignificant to serve as material for comparison.1) It may however be assumed that insofar as cult-statues were made at that place in the 10th century or later, they were modelled after the pattern of the earlier figures which existed here. The general likeness between the two statues mentioned above and the North Ch'i sculptures at Pei Hsiang t'ang is so obvious that we are justified in placing them in the same local group, but as long as we have no actually dated specimens of the Sung period at that place, we are not in a position to form any definite opinion about their quality and characteristics. Consequently we must leave the question as to the date of execution of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva statue open for the time being.

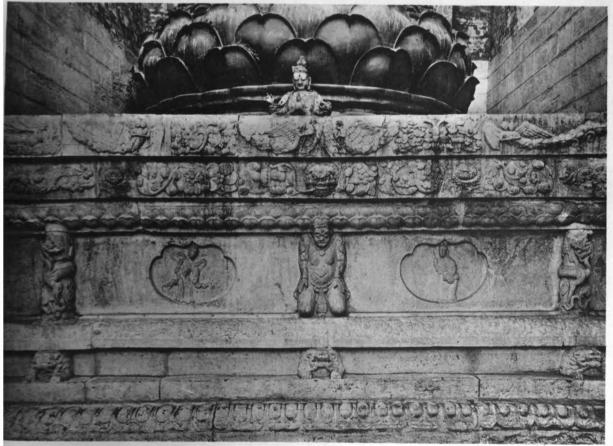
In regard to the other sculptures classified in my book on *Chinese Sculpture*, together with these, as works »in the manner of the Six dynasties, though executed later» (cf. pl. 287—289), I should like to add, that continued studies of somewhat similar works, then unknown to me, have led me to the conclusion that they were not executed at a later period but actually at the time indicated by their general characteristics of style, i. e. about the middle of the 6th century. They are relatively simple products of local craftmanship, but they belong to a group which, from an authentic example in the Fuji collection in Kyoto, dated in the year 538, can be definitely accepted as genuine works of the early period.

Space does not permit us to discuss here sculptures that by their more or less inconsistent style and manner of execution may arouse doubts as to their date of execution. Most of them reveal their period of origin to an experienced eye, but some may leave us in doubt, because we know too little about the production of sculpture in China after the T'ang period. The above remarks regarding the continuation of the sculptural activity, particularly in western Hopei, during the Liao and Chin dynasties may serve to give some idea of how the old models were continued, while at the same time fresh endeavours were made in new directions, which gave rise to a definite decorative style of considerable importance.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Tokiwa and Sekino, Buddhist Monuments in China, vol. III, pl. 76.







Pl. 2.







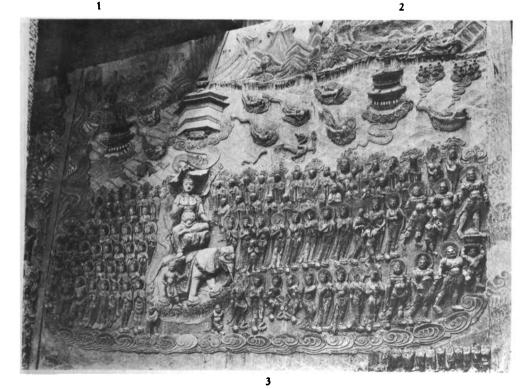


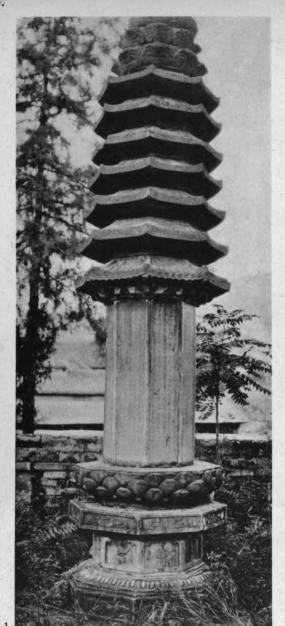


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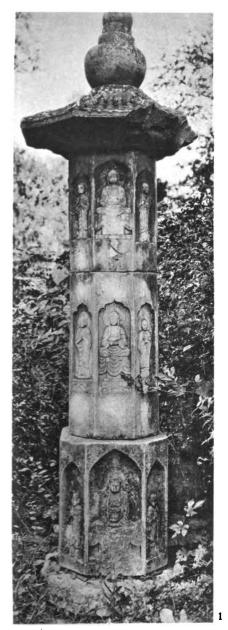


















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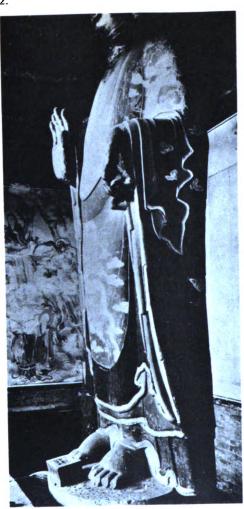




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J DO NO.

Pl. 12.









## SOME RITUAL OBJECTS OF PREHISTORIC CHINA

BY

## BERNHARD KARLGREN

In the type locality of the neolithic Yang-Shao culture, the village of Yang-shao ts'un in Honan, professor J. G. Andersson discovered certain specimens which are at first sight highly enigmatic, but which may, I believe, be determined as being cult symbols. They are of three different kinds, but, as we shall see, closely allied.

The first group comprises two earthenware specimens depicted in our Pl. 1. The one (Pl. 1: 1) is of chocolate-brown ware, surface dull grey. Height 115 mm. The other (Pl. 1: 3) is equally of chocolate-brown ware, but the surface is dull black. Height 112 mm. On the latter there is a kind of sharp \*rim\* protruding over the trunk, but it does not form a detachable lid. Both specimens are hollow, open at the bottom. On the specimen in Pl. 1: 1, the bottom of the trunk walls widen into a flat ring, on which the specimen stands; on 1: 3 the corresponding part is broken off and cannot be reconstructed. The significance of these two specimens is revealed by a parallel from another prehistoric area in Asia.

In his magnificent work Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization (1931) p. 58, Sir John Marshall gives a detailed account of phallic emblems from the prehistoric Indus culture. I reproduce some of his illustrations, and in the following quotation I replace Sir John's plate figures (from his plates XIII and XIV) with those in my own plate here. He writes:

»Now, at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa there are three classes of aniconic objects generally of stone but occasionally of other materials also, that claim attention. The first class comprises those of the type illustrated in Pl. 1: 2, 4, 5, 7. Two of these (Pl. 1: 2, 4) are unquestionably phalli, more or less realistically modelled, and prove conclusively that phallism in India had a pre-Aryan origin, thus disposing once and for all of the fantastic theory that it was introduced into India by the Greeks or other Western invaders. Further evidence on the same point is furnished by two realistic specimens of the same kind — one a linga or phallus (Pl. 1: 6) and the other a yoni or vulva which Sir Aurel Stein found on chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan, the former at Mughal Ghundai, the latter at Periano Ghundai. The other objects in this class (Pl. 1: 5, 7) are more conventionalized in shape, and their character, therefore, is not so obvious. They vary in size from half an inch to a foot or thereabouts in height, and are made generally of limestone or ala-

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baster, but the miniature ones are also made of shell, faience, and paste, the lastmentioned being sometimes coloured to simulate carnelian. These miniature specimens might have served as gamesmen, but the larger specimens are much too heavy
for that purpose, and their shape does not suit them for use as weights; nor is
there any other utilitarian purpose that can be suggested for them. Indeed, the
only explanation applicable to them all, is that they were sacred objects of some
sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller
as amulets to be carried on the person, just as miniature lingas are commonly carried by Saivites to-day. And that these objects were, in fact, lingas seems highly
probable from their shape, which in spite of its conventionality, inevitably calls
to mind the linga from Mughal Ghundai (Pl. 1: 6). In mediaeval and modern
India it is only very rarely that lingas take at all a naturalistic form. Ninety-nine
per cent of them are so conventionalized that most people would find a difficulty
in recognizing their phallic character.

»As a fact, the resemblance between the stone objects under discussion and the Mughal Ghundai linga is closer than at first sight appears. Some of the former (Pl. 1:9) differ from their fellows in that they consist of the upper part only and are provided with small holes (visible in the photograph), as if they had been attached to a base of some sort. Now, the same characteristic is observable in the linga from Mughal Ghundai, but in this case the material of which it is composed is terracotta instead of stone, and the base or whatever it was to which it was attached was made in one piece with it, and has been broken off at the juncture. On the analogy of the Siva linga this base may be assumed to have been a yoni».

The resemblance of the Yang-shao specimens (pl. 1: 1, 3) with the conventionalized phalli of the Indus civilization (Pl. 1: 5, 7, 9) and with that from Baluchistan (Pl. 1: 6) is so striking that there can be no doubt as to their analogous purport. The importance of the Indus parallel lies particularly in the fact that in regard to the Mohenjo-daro specimens there cannot be the slightest hesitation, after the analysis given by Marshall, that they are really phalli: as to North-Western India, this deduction is based on the very decisive fact that primeval phallism has never died out but is still a living reality in the India of today.

The Yang-shao specimens are, curiously enough, conventionalized in exactly the same manner as the Indus and Baluchistan phalli, both having the same upper part which more or less looks like a »mushroom-hat». This carries us over to a connection with the early historical, bronze-age China, of Yin and Chou.

In a paper: Some fecundity symbols in Ancient China (BMFEA 2, 1930), I extensively discussed traces of phallism during the first Chinese dynasties, and I illustrated a specimen belonging to the MFEA (our Pl. 1: 8 here), made of a marble-like stone and found on the Northern bank of the Yellow River, near Shang-k'iu hien, height 297 mm. It has incrustations which attest to its being of very ancient make, and there are inscriptions in Yin-style characters (those of the oracle

bones), though I am not able to decipher them. I ventured the surmise that it has to be dated in Yin time. This has now been definitely corroborated by a similar specimen (Pl. 1: 10), excavated in the Yin dynasty capital An-yang (Ye chung p'ien yü er tsi, Pl. 32).

The phallic character of these two specimens is so obvious as to need no discussion, but the subject is by no means exhausted thereby. At the same time as they are phalli, they are typical representatives of what I have called, in my studies on early Chinese bronzes, »bottle-shaped horns». In all likelihood they have served as horns on some big marble sculptures, representing T'ao-t'ie or dragons. We are bound to come to this conclusion if we compare them with the bronzes illustrated in our Pls. 2, 3.

In Pl. 2: 1 we have the »bottle-horn» in the round with a flat top slightly widening into a disc (a Yu in the Oeder coll., Yin inscription), and its appearance is similar in the famous »double-ram» vessel of the Eumorfopoulos coll. (Pl. 2: 3). But the rounded mushroom-hat variety is even more frequent. On a T'ao-t'ie head we find it (Pl. 3: 2) on a beautiful axe from Anyang (= Ye chung p'ien yü er tsi, Pl. 40), and on a dragon's head we have it, on the one hand, on a Ting tripod excavated in An-yang (our Pl. 2: 2 = Ye chung p'ien yü ch'u tsi pl. 11), on the other hand on the famous ogre bronze of the Sumitomo coll. (Pl. 3: 4). In the round we find it on the animal forming the lid of a Kuang in the Yamanaka coll. (Pl. 3: 1 = Umehara, Shina Kodo Seikwa, Pl. 147), and on a similar Kuang in the Fujita coll. (Pl. 3: 3). Scores of examples could be adduced.

The very shape of the »bottle-horns » at once reveals them as having a symbolical ritual significance. No real animal's horns ever have such broad »mushroom-hat » ends: they are obviously not meant to be naturalistic representations of animal's horns, but have a symbolical meaning. The butting horn of a magical animal (T'ao-t'ie, dragon) = the ritual phallus — the religious idea is quite evident; we witness here typical fecundity (and fertility) symbols.

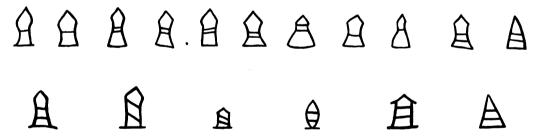
The second group of objects to be discussed is represented by three small earthenware specimens in the shape of a »bobbin», likewise from Yang-shao-ts'un in Honan. The largest of them (Pl. 3: 7) is of light-brown ware, height 30 mm. The next (Pl. 3: 6) has the same chocolate-brown ware and black surface as the specimen pl. 1: 3 above; height 23 mm. The third (Pl. 3: 5), of yellowish-red ware, is only 17 mm. high.

These small objects seem to be exceedingly enigmatic. Yet I think they may be studied in the light of certain early Chinese bronze-age documents. There are two classes of ritual vases, the Tsüe and the Kia (see BMFEA 9, pls. 23—26, 52—55), which regularly have two curious \*\*uprights\*\*, ending in \*\*caps\*\* of various shapes, see our Pl. 4 here. The practical purpose of these \*\*uprights\*\* is not clear. They cannot have served as handles, for they are not placed in the middle of the vessel, and the vessel, as a rule, has a regular handle at the side. I imagine that they

served to keep some (wooden?) lid in position. Be this as it may, it does not explain their peculiar shape. We shall revert to this question presently. Suffice it to say here that the \*caps\* of the \*uprights\* in Pl. 4: 1, 3, 4, are striking parallels to, indeed direct reproductions of, the small neolithic earthenware specimens from Yang-shao ts'un.

The third group of objects to be examined (Pl. 3: 8, 9) are the small cones of earthenware (red ware), varying in height between 34 and 75 mm. likewise from Yang-shao ts'un in Honan, which we already discussed in my paper cited above. Exactly as in the case of the \*bobbin\*-shaped Yang-shao specimens, which recur on the uprights of the Tsüe and Kia bronzes, these conical specimens are directly taken over and placed in that same position in the early bronze art, on the Tsüe and on the Kia vessels, Pl. 4: 2.

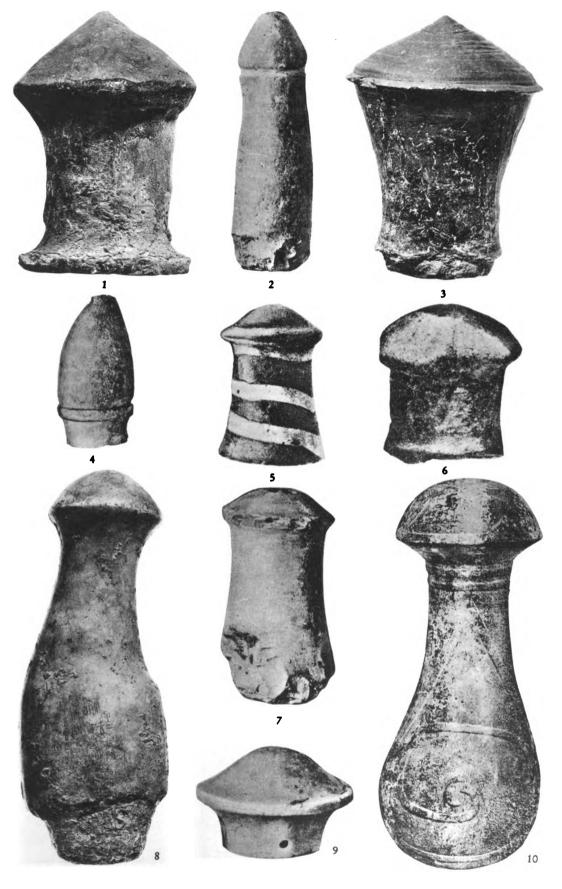
In my article: Some fecundity symbols etc., I emphasized the fact that the early Chinese script clearly reveals phallic ideas in Yin time. The character for tsu \*ancestor, grandfather \* was a phallic pictogram, and so was the character for yi \*sacrifice to the spirit of the Earth \*: at the She altar, to the Earth, there was a sacred pole, undoubtedly of phallic origin, and there was a close connection between the fertility sacrifices to the She altar and the fecundity sacrifices in the ancestral temples. I need not repeat in detail here my extensive argumentation in that paper. It is enough to reproduce a few examples of the graph for tsu \*ancestor\*, drawn from the oracle bone inscriptions on the one hand (see, further, Sun Hai-po: Kia ku wen pien), and from bronze inscriptions on the other (see, further, Jung Keng: Kin wen pien). Our upper line shows bone forms, our lower line bronze forms:



It is easily recognized that there is a close connection between, on the one hand, the prehistoric and early historic objects we have studied above and, on the other hand, these phallic pictograms for "ancestor" (procreator). The phallic nature of the larger prehistoric Yang-shao specimens Pl. 1: 1, 3 and the horns from the early historic centre at An-yang Pl. 1: 8, 10, already obvious in itself, and strongly confirmed by the Indus and Baluchistan parallels, is here still further corroborated by the very similar phallic drawings in the script of early historic times. The same is true of the small conical specimens from Yang-shao (Pl. 3: 8, 9), which recur

identically in the Yin (An-yang) and the Chou script. It is much more doubtful whether the bobbin-shaped objects of Yang-shao (Pl. 3: 5, 7) and their Yin-time projections (Pl. 4: 1, 3) are really in the same category as the preceding specimens and are religious symbols with a similar phallic significance. The Yin graphs for \*ancestor\* have no quite exact counterparts in these \*bobbins\*. Yet there are three facts that make it necessary to keep open the possibility of their being symbols of the same order. First, they occur on the Yang-shao site, together with the bigger phalli and the cones; secondly, they recur on Yin bronzes in exactly the same position as the cones (i.e. on the \*uprights\* of the Tsüe and Kia) — the very fact that they occur, as \*synonyms\* of the cones, on ritual bronzes, the whole décor of which is symbolic and magical, is highly significant; thirdly, some variants of these bobbins, e. g. that in Pl. 4: 4, are certainly closely cognate in shape to the undoubtedly phallic horns (Pl. 1: 8, 10).

If, then, not only the bigger phalli from Yang-shao, but also the smaller bobbins and cones from the same find-place have a religious significance, it is tempting to assume that the former were cult objects, the latter amulets carried on the person.



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# GLOSSES ON THE KUO FENG ODES

BY

## BERNHARD KARLGREN

Throughout the history of Chinese literature there is no document which in importance and influence over later ages can compete with the Shī, the Odes. In China, therefore, it has been studied and commented upon by thousands of scholars for more than two thousand years, and the volume of Shī literature is truly tremendous. To the modern scientific student, however, most of this commentary literature is void of value, and it may be disregarded, since 95 percent of it consist of homiletics and moralizing effusions. The history of Shī philology, however, is a highly complicated and interesting study.

In early Han time there were four schools, each supporting its own Shī version: the Han, Lu and Ts'i schools, and the Mao school. The four schools diverged on many points not only in their definitions of meanings but also in their text readings (characters, phrases). The former three versions (Han, Lu and Ts'i) have not been handed down in their entirety. The Ts'i and Lu versions were already lost during the tumultuous centuries of the Six Dynasties. The Han version still existed in T'ang time, and a remnant of it is still preserved in the Han Shī wai chuan. The early loss of the san kia Shī »Odes of the three schools» (Han, Lu and Ts'i) before philological scholarship in China had matured is a matter of intense regret. None the less, we possess considerable parts of them through quotations in other early works, which have been conscientiously extracted by painstaking Chinese scholars of the Ts'ing era. The fourth school, that of Mao Heng and Mao Ch'ang (2nd c. B. C.) became authoritative already in Eastern Han time, and from T'ang time onwards was absolutely predominant.

The Mao commentary to the Mao Shī version is mostly a series of philological glosses, explaining words and phrases. Only rarely are any general explanations given as to the purport of the whole ode, the historical background for it (author of the ode, persons and historical events alluded to). When there is any explanation, it is mostly in the spirit of the moralizing scholastics of the Han era: the odes celebrate the virtues of the King and the Queen or the feudal Lords, or they criticize the moral decay in the feudal kingdoms. More often than in the Mao version, the commentaries of the Han, Lu and Ts'i schools are in this vein: we may thus conclude that such a scholastic moralizing adaptation of the Shī odes was

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current already in late pre-Han times. Moreover, we frequently observe how the odes were made use of for homiletic purposes — and therefore placed on the Procrustes' bed of far-fetched interpretation — quite early, e. g. in the sermons served by prominent sages in the Tso chuan and the Kuo yü. This tendency resulted in a rigid system of scholastic interpretation through Wei Hung (1st c. A. D.), who, basing himself on the Mao version, wrote a Mao Shī sü, Preface to the Mao Odes, in which this mode of interpretation is carried in absurdum: every one of the odes plays this rôle of \*speculum virtutis\*, being either praise or blame of the kings and princes and their consorts. This Mao Shī sü has been the subject of endless discussions, it having been varyingly attributed to the authors of the odes themselves, to Confucius, to Tsī-hia, to Mao. Yet when Fan Ye († 445 A. D.) clearly states in Hou Han shu: »Wei Hung studied under Sie Wan-k'ing, and wrote the Mao Shī sü, Preface to the Mao odes; he understood well the meaning (purport) of the Feng and the Ya, and it (the sti) has been transmitted unto our time, there is every reason to accept this statement as true, for we can clearly see that the Preface is posterior to Mao: in some odes (e. g. in odes 42 and 99) the Mao chuan and the Shī sü diverge from each other as to the purport of the ode, which would never have been the case if Mao had written the Sü or based himself upon it as a venerable product of pre-Han times. Another telling detail proving that Mao was not the author is ode 44 (Er tsī ch'eng chou). First the Sü tells the anecdote of the two young princes Ki and Shou. Then Mao, in the gloss to the 1st stanza, tells the whole story over again, which he would never have done if he himself had written the Sü as a continuous preface to each ode. Indeed, Wei Hung systematized and carried through à outrance the moralizing scholasticism already existing to a large extent in the Han, Lu, Ts'i commentaries, and, to a smaller extent, in Mao's commentary. When, after him, the great scholar Cheng Hüan († 200 A. D.) wrote his Tsien »notes » to the Mao Odes, he took the Mao commentary (chuan) and the ? Wei Hung preface (st) together as a homogeneous whole, since Wei had based himself on the Mao version text, and though in some cases he deviates from Mao (either in the direction of the Han, Lu and Ts'i schools, or in that of other early commentators to other classics), on the whole he follows the lead of Mao and Wei and merely expounds them more fully. Cheng Hüan had a great prestige, especially as an authority and commentator on the Rites (Li Ki, Yi li, Chou li), and though a prominent scholar like Wang Su († 256 A. D.) expounded Mao in a way that often deviated from that of Cheng Hüan, the latter held the day in the learned world, and the doctrines of Mao-Wei-Cheng were absolutely predominant in the T'ang era. This was emphasized by the voluminous Mao Shī cheng yi, a further detailed interpretation of Mao-Wei-Cheng, by K'ung Ying-ta († 648), later incorporated in the authoritative series Shi san king chu su.

It was very unfortunate that through Cheng Hüan the Mao Commentary and the Wei Preface were fused into one work and regarded as an insoluble whole. When, finally, criticism arose against tha absurdities of the Preface (in which absurdities the Mao Commentary, as stated above, had only a very modest share), the odium came to be directed not only against the Preface but against the entire Mao version and the commentary as well.

Already in T'ang time, the famous Han Yü had his misgivings about the Preface. But is was only in Sung time that a real frank criticism arose: Ou-yang Siu, Su Chê, and in particular the brilliant scholar Cheng Ts'iao were the pioneers. Their lead was followed by several authors, and it fell to the Sing-li philosopher Chu Hi († 1200) to work out the new lines more fully in his Shī tsi chuan? which became absolutely authoritative and remained so for many centuries: all through the Yüan, Ming and Ts'ing dynasties the candidates in the examinations were bound strictly to follow Chu Hi's interpretations.

Chu Hi's work meant a great step forward in one important respect: he boldly denounced the Preface as faulty on several essential points. He advocated, in sharp contradiction to the Preface, that certain odes were yin shi »depraved odes», 🚉 📆 revealing the moral dissolution in the moeurs of the middle Chou epoch. So far so good; though after all Chu still sedately followed the Preface in the majority of cases, he possessed the merit of having boldly dared an open revolt against the time-honoured authorities on certain debatable odes. In other respects his famous tsi chuan — the inevitable schoolbook of all later ages — meant an equally great step backwards. Chu Hi, who in the wake of Cheng Hüan did not distinguish between the Mao commentary and the Preface, thought fit, when once he had rejected the absolute authority of the Preface, to emancipate himself equally much from the Mao chuan, the Commentary (older than the Preface by nearly 200 years). In a great many instances, it is true, he simply repeated Mao's glosses. But in very many cases, when he came across a difficult word or phrase, he invented, quite arbitrarily and with a rare lack of philological method, a meaning of his own; it was entirely indifferent to him that such a sense was never attested in early texts, nor in the early dictionaries or commentaries on the classics (written at a time when the ancient vocabulary was still, to a large extent, a living element of the language and not yet obsolete): if he could invent a meaning which, according to his guess, would suit the context, he was content. And through Chu's enormous influence, the Chinese literary language (and the later dictionaries, including the European ones) has thus been enriched by a great number of word »meanings» which have no ancient foundation at all, and which derive solely from Chu's capricious imagination.

There was bound to come a reaction against this, and it came particularly during the Ts'ing dynasty. In spite of the rigorous support vouchsafed by the official authorities to Chu Hi's Shī commentary, there arose a brilliant pleiad of great scholars, who turned their backs on Chu Hi and took up a serious, painstaking and entirely scientific research into the philology of the Shi; let us cite only some of the most important names: Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Wang Nien-sun, Wang Yin-chī, Wang Fu-chī, Hu Ch'eng-kung, Ma Juei-ch'en, Ch'en Huan, Ch'en K'i-yüan, Ch'en K'iao-



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tsung, Chu Tsün-sheng, Yü Yüe, Ho Yi-hang, Wang Sien-k'ien. Their great achievement concerned, above all, the interpretation of difficult words and phrases on the one hand, and variant readings (different versions) on the other. With indefatigable enthusiasm they traced and adduced all early testimonies in the pre-Han and Han sources, rightly convinced that the true meanings could never be guessed at, in the fashion of Chu Hi and his followers, at random, but must be established through research into the earliest texts, dictionaries and commentaries, written at a time not too far distant from that of the Shī poets, a time when many a word which in T'ang and Sung time was entirely obsolete was still a current colloquial word; or, at least, a time when there was still a living and unbroken tradition from Chou time as to the meaning of unusual words and phrases.

Unfortunately that same fusion of the Mao Commentary and the Wei Hung Preface, brought about by Cheng Hüan, which had led Chu Hi astray as to the value of the Mao commentary, now entailed a similar fateful result in the works of the Ts'ing scholars. Indignant at the arbitrary guesses and the lack of philological method and stringency of the Sung school (Chu Hi), they made it their aim to revert to the Han scholars — but while reinstating the Mao commentary and the Han, Lu and Ts'i variants and glosses in their proper place, as the true basis of every scientific research into the words and phrases of the Shī, they re-established the moralizing scholastic construction of the general purport of each ode, such as it was expressed sometimes in the Mao, Han, Lu and Ts'i commentaries, but above all in the Wei Hung preface. Thus the evolution went round in a circle: the word glosses reverted — as was but legitimate — to the Han-time foundations (the philological criticism and stringency being however much greater than in the Han and T'ang eras), and the arbitrary levities of the Sung school were rejected — this was a great step forward; but the scholastic conception of the purport of the odes was also brought back to the Han mentality — this was a step backwards from the position of the Sung school, at least regarding many odes. It is true that a few Ts'ing scholars objected vigorously to this, e. g. Yao Tsi-heng and Ts'uei Shu; but their mode of argumentation, though bold and free from preconceived ideas, was too sketchy, too little stringent in method and sometimes too naive to ensure any considerable success. It is only in the last decades that modern Chinese scholars have had the courage entirely to reject the trammels of the Preface and the whole moralizing conception of the odes (see Ku shi pien III); but so far no new comprehensive interpretation of the whole of the Shī in this new spirit has been produced, only isolated odes have been so expounded (and with widely divergent results).

The Western student who desires to read the odes finds himself in a sad state of perplexity. He may address himself to the classical translation with copious notes by James Legge (The Chinese Classics, vol. IV, 1871). He will then find that, whereas Legge has carefully recorded the Preface explanations of each ode, he has followed the example of Chu Hi in not adopting them in all cases, but rather con-

struing many odes freely merely by the aid of the Shī text itself (which is very commendable); that in regard to words and phrases he has largely followed Chu Hi (which is regrettable), but often preferred the ancient glosses by Mao and Cheng, and more than once other interpretations loosely advanced by one or other of the hundreds of commentators from T'ang to Ts'ing time, simply because they seemed to him to give »a good meaning to the context»; further, that Legge has taken very little account of the best Ts'ing scholars mentioned above (the most important works: those by Ch'en Huan, Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en K'iao-tsung, seem to have escaped him altogether) and that consequently his word explanations were badly antiquated already at the time of publication (1871). Briefly, he will find in Legge a guide that is quite out of date and unsatisfactory. Legge's translation was a most remarkable feat for his time — when modern lexicography was still in its infancy — and a monument of stupendous learning. But to-day, after three-quarters of a century, it does not in any way satisfy the demands of philological science.

Or the student may turn to S. Couvreur, Che King, texte chinois avec une double traduction en français et en latin (1896), and he will find that Couvreur has deliberately followed Chu Hi on almost every point (»le célèbre commentateur tient encore la première place dans les écoles, et pour cette raison nous avons suivi son interprétation le plus fidèlement possible»). This translation has therefore all the great faults of Chu Hi's version, and the student should keep in mind that in five cases out of ten his guide is entirely unsatisfactory and misleading.

Or the student may try, for a part of the odes, the text with translation published by M. Granet in Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine, 1919. He will find that Granet, in regard to the individual words, has simply followed Mao and Cheng, without any attempt at a critical evaluation of their glosses; and that he has construed all the odes he translates to suit a preconceived idea of his own: that they are popular songs, not originating in the class of the gentry but in that of the peasants, that they are stanzas improvized by youths and maidens at the time of the great seasonal festivals, and sung antithetically. Granet's sole support for this is the parallelism of certain modern T'ai people customs, and his whole elaborate structure is for the rest built entirely in the air. Now among the 305 odes in the Shī there are at most half a dozen that may be construed as songs with antithetical couplets; for the rest there is not the slightest resemblance to the T'ai songs in quest-Moreover, the idea that these odes are pure folksongs, culled by the musicmasters from the lips of the people in the various feudal states (an old idea already advanced by Sī-ma Ts'ien), is quite untenable. The odes are so well elaborated, with such a strict metre and rhythm, such a consistent and strict (even rigid) rime system, and often such sophisticated and »upper-class» expressions, that it is entirely excluded that they could be the products of improvising uneducated far-This is doubly clear if we compare this elaborate literature with the contemporaneous prose literature (bronze inscriptions), which still labours with all the heaviness of a but little developed literary art.? The »culling» of the musicmasters was certainly limited to the picking up of such popular themes as we find inserted everywhere in the stanzas Kuan kuan ts'ü kiu tsai hochīchou »Kuan kuan cries the osprey on the islet in the river » etc. but the poems must in their entirety be the products of well-trained, educated members of the gentry. Granet's fundamental idea is therefore a signal failure, and since it has largely influenced his translation of the odes, the latter is of little value or help to the student.

Or finally the student may take up Arthur Waley's The Book of Songs translated from the Chinese (1937). He will find here a work of a much more advanced and modern type. In regard to the general purport of the odes, Waley has made himself free of the trammels of the Preface and the whole moralizing scholasticism of the Han schools to a far greater extent than Chu Hi (and Legge); indeed he has throughout followed his own judgment in deciding what the text itself of each ode can suggest; in this respect he is just as unbound by preconceived ideas as the modern Chinese critics (as quoted above, Ku Shī pien III). In regard to the philology proper, the interpretation of difficult words and phrases, he has assiduously studied many of the best Ts'ing time authorities. And yet the student is left somewhat helpless and bewildered, because Waley's book was published as a literary volume almost without any scholarly apparatus at all (an additional volume of 32 pages containing textual notes offers so little as to be of no practical assistance). At almost every line the student must ask himself: why does Waley translate this word, this phrase in this way? He cannot find the answer through reference to the dictionaries, for they are all — K'ang hi tsī tien, Ts'ī yüan, Chung Kuo ta tsī tien, Ts'ī hai, Kanwa dai ji ten, Giles, Couvreur — entirely antiquated in regard to the classics, taking little or no account of the text-critical and philological results achieved by the great Ts'ing scholars (they simply repeat either Mao's or Cheng's or Chu Hi's glosses, quite uncritically and arbitrarily, now the one, now the other). In order, then, to understand Waley, the student has to go to the same works as those to which Waley has had recourse (especially those by Ch'en Huan and Wang Sien-k'ien); and even so, he cannot as a rule discover why in debated instances (of which there are hundreds) Waley has preferred one interpretation to any other. Indeed, as will be seen in the present work, in a majority of the cases where Waley differs from Legge I arrive at other conclusions than his. The student badly needs a commentaire raisonné, giving text-critical and philological notes which endeavour to make an evaluation of the different opinions as to the meanings of difficult words and phrases.

Particularly I object to Waley's frequent alterings of the text (scores of important cases) where the transmitted text admits of a perfectly satisfactory interpretation. In a language like Chinese, if we were free to alter any character into another having the same "phonetic" (which method is Waley's predilection), we could interpret almost every line of the Shī in several widely divergent ways. Our principle must be a great caution: never to alter the transmitted text unless it is necessary and the emendation is obviously plausible.

From what has been said above it follows that a modern student of the Odes has a double task:

First, he must elucidate as far as possible, in each ode, the true meaning of all difficult words and phrases, taking full account of all the text variants, the different opinions of the ancient schools, and the linguistic reasons which support the one or the other. It is true that in a few cases the determining of the true meaning of a word or phrase is dependent upon the content, the purport of the whole ode, but that is, in fact, quite rare; in most cases the philological scrutiny of the words may be successfully carried out without any previous construction of the ode as a whole.

Secondly, on the basis of this preparatory work, he has to read off the ode as a whole and try to determine, by the connected text itself, the purport of the whole ode. If there is a pre-Han or early Han tradition about the historical background of the ode (I do not mean, of course, the ordinary "the virtue of the Queen", the "improving influence of Wen Wang" etc. of the scholasts, but real references to historical events, e.g. in ode 44, Er tsī ch'eng chou "The two young men entered the boat", and such-like), he should, of course, test the text to find out whether there are any real points d'appui in it which confirm that tradition. In most cases, however, he will find that the text gives no safe support to such speculations, and we may take it to be a general rule that in late Chou and early Han time no reliable information was available as to the author of an ode or as to the historical event which inspired him to write his poem.

It would seem to be a trite remark, that once all the philological nuts have been cracked, it should be possible to read off the ode as a whole and get at its meaning. But that is certainly not so, when we have to deal with a lapidary language like Chinese, where the subject of the clause is often not indicated (I? thou? he? she? we? you? they?), the tense of the verb is not clear (comes? came? has come? will come?) and so on. Ode 42 (Tsing nü) contains hardly any difficult words or phrases. It would seem to be very simple to read it off and understand it. And yet it has been paraphrased into modern Chinese in 6 different ways by 6 authors (Ku Shī pien III), with serious divergencies of meaning on several important points!

It is true that a terse word-by-word translation (with as few Western inflections and grammatical words added as possible) will in many cases be sufficiently clear, e. g. in ode 1:

\*Kuan-kuan\*! the osprey, on river's islet;

Beautiful good woman,

(for) gentleman good mate.

Graded (of varying length) duckweed, left right seek it;

Beautiful good woman, wake sleep seek her.

Seek her not get, wake sleep think-of;

Pain alas! pain alas! revolve, turn-over, turn-on-side.

Graded duckweed, left right cull it; Beautiful good woman, lute harp befriend her. Graded duckweed, left right gather it, Beautiful good woman, bell drum joy her.

That this is a poem of wooing and marriage is obvious (and that it has nothing to do with "the virtue of the Queen"), once all the words are determined (those in italics are of debated sense). But in other cases the result is not equally clear. Let us take two examples:

## Ode 4 (Kiu mu):

## Legge:

(In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches, with the dolichos creepers clinging to them). To be rejoiced in is our princely lady, May she repose in her happiness and dignity.

## Waley:

(In the south) is a tree with drooping boughs, the cloth-creeper binds it). Oh, happy is our lord, Blessings and boons secure him.

Both are equally correct paraphrases of:

South have curve tree dolichos creeper bind it Joy, lo! noble-person! Happiness blessing tranquil(lize) that-one.

Though there is no word of doubtful meaning, yet the translation remains uncertain, because kün-tsī 'noble-person' may refer to a man or a woman, and lo 'joy' may be an adjective: 'joyed, happy', or a transitive verb: 'to enjoy, find joy in'.

## Ode 17 (Hing lu), 2nd stanza:

## Legge:

Who can say that you did not get me betrothed?

(How else could you have urged on this trial?

But though you have forced me to trial),

Your ceremonies for betrothal were not sufficient.

## Waley:

Who can say that you have no family? (How else would you bring this suit? But though you bring a suit),

Not all your friends and family will

Not all your friends and family will suffice.

The divergence depends on the word kia, which means sometimes 'family', sometimes ('to find a family for' =)' to betroth, to give away in marriage'.

If it is thus difficult to determine the meaning of a stanza, even if it contains no difficult words, the task is made infinitely harder if there are words or phrases

which are of uncertain and disputed meaning. Then different translators may arrive at such divergent results that it is difficult to realize that they are rendering one and the same stanza:

Ode 31 (Ki ku), 5th stanza:

Legge:

Waley:

Alas for our separation! We have no prospect in life. (Alas for our stipulation), We cannot make it good.

Alas for our bond!

It has not lasted even for our lifetime.
(Alas for our troth),

You did not trust me.

Ode 33 (Hiung chi), 1st stanza:

Legge:

Waley:

(The male pheasant flies away lazily moving his wings).

The man of my heart! —

He has brought on us this separation.

(That cock-pheasant in its flight flaps feebly with his wings).

By this passion of mine
What have I brought myself but misery?

Ode 37 (Mao k'iu), 4th stanza:

Legge:

Waley:

Fragments, and a remnant, Children of dispersion (are we). O ye uncles, Notwithstanding your full robes, your ears are stopped. Pretty little creatures
Were the children of the owl,
O uncles and elders
With your ear-plugs so grand!

Ode 29 (Jī yüe), 4th stanza:

Legge:

Waley:

(O father, O mother, there is no sequel for your nourishing of me).

How can he get his mind settled?

Would he then respond to me, contrary to all reason?

(High, father, Ho, mother, You have matured me to no good end).How should he be true?He requited me, but did not follow up.

Ode 56 (K'ao p'an), 2nd stanza.

Legge:

Waley:

He has reared his hut in the bend of the mound — that large man with such an air of indifference.

Alone he sleeps and wakes and sings, He swears he will never pass from this spot. Drumming and dancing along the bank, How high-spirited was that tall man! Subtler than any at capping songs, And he swore he would never fail me. If thus there is a double task for the student of the odes: first to determine the meaning of difficult words and phrases, and then to read off the ode as a whole and construe its general sense, it is obvious that the former is the primary, fundamental and most indispensable one. Even with this first task solved, the second may sometimes be ticklish enough, as we have seen; but without a satisfactory scrutiny of the isolated words and phrases the construing of the whole stanza and determining of its general purport is a hopeless undertaking.

The present work deals exclusively with the former task. The »glosses» concern the fundamental interpretation of difficult words and phrases.

The Shī is philologically a very difficult text; in nearly every line there are words or phrases that are rare in the ancient literature and which already became obsolete at an early stage: they constitute so many hard nuts to crack. I should have liked to discuss philologically every such rare word and throw light on its etymological position in the Chinese word families, but that would have swelled the bulk of my work too far. I have in the main limited my researches here to the most urgent cases: the words in regard to the meaning of which there is dissension in the most important ancient sources and among the most competent Chinese philologists. Hundreds of other words are extremely rare (often hapax legomena) and curious; but since there is unanimity in the ancient schools and in the later learned world as to their meaning, I have not thought there is any urgent necessity to take them up for a philological scrutiny. I shall only give one example of this here. In ode' 2 (Ko t'an) we have the word 覃 t'an, defined by Mao (after Erya) as 延 'to stretch out, extend'; it recurs in the same sense in odes 245 and 255, but is not known from other early texts. It would be quite worth while to point out that the same word t'an 'to extend' occurs written 譚 in Ta Tai li: Tsī-chang wen, and written 🎏 in Huainan: Shu chen hün; and that this word \*d'əm / d'am / t'an is etymologically cognate to \(\vec{m}\) \*d'iem / d'ien / tien 'a mat' (a spread-out thing). But since there is no conflict of opinion as to the meaning of Et'an, 'to extend'. I cannot afford to dwell on such a word, etymologically interesting though it may be, but have to concentrate on the disputed cases.

There is one limitation also in this respect: I shall never take up for discussion here the botanical and zoological terms, not considering myself competent for a serious discussion of the identification of plants and animals. In my Grammata Serica I have in the main followed Bretschneider's Botanicon Sinicum as well as the Chī wu hüe ta ts'ī tien and the Tung wu hüe ta ts'ī tien.

In my glosses I consequently take up for scrutiny particularly such words and phrases as have important variants (merely trifling variants such as a variation in the \*radical\* of the graph, which do not influence the reading or the interpretation, are not considered here¹) or divergent interpretations in the ancient schools

<sup>1)</sup> Even more striking divergences are disregarded when the difference is, in fact, more apparent than real. In ode 51 the Mao school has \$2 \*\hat{\pi}\$, the Lu school has \$2 \*\hat{\pi}\$. Since, however, both \$2 and \$2 were \*tiad | tiei | t i, and the meaning the same ('rainbow'), I do not take up the case for glossing.

(Han, Lu, Ts'i, Mao, Cheng, Shuowen etc.); but also those in which the Sung school (Chu Hi) has a different opinion from the older commentators — since Chu Hi's views are of such great historical interest — and, finally, those in regard to which later commentators have advanced new theories of real value and deserving to be seriously discussed.

This brings us back to the great scholars of the Ts'ing dynasty and their excellent researches into the true meanings of difficult words and phrases, the text variants of the different versions, briefly the proper philology of the Odes. It would seem that my task might be limited to the procedure of extracting from the bulky volumes of Hu Ch'eng-kung, Ch'en Huan, Ma Juei-ch'en, Wang Sien-K'ien and others the results that are of value to the modern student. But in fact this would not suffice. The materials are mostly there, carefully brought together, ready to be extracted. But the task of working up the materials into more definite results still largely remains to be achieved. The works of these brilliant authors have certain shortcomings, which need remedying.

In the first place, the lack of linguistic method, and particularly the absence of any real knowledge of Archaic Chinese phonology — inevitable in their time — have greatly marred their work and detracted from the value of their decisions. Let us choose a single example. In ode 40 (Pei men) there is the expression 王 事 敦 我, according to Mao's meaning: »the King's affairs are thick on (heaped on) me ». (Mao: 敦 t u n = 厚 'thick'). The Han school says t u n = 迫 'to press', thus: \*the King's affairs are pressing me », and this has led Hu Ch'engkung (quoted with approval by Ma Juei-ch'en and Wang Sien-k'ien) to the following etymological speculation: 敦 tun and 臂 tu have 一聲之轉 »the change of one sound» (t u n: t u), and since 督 is defined as 促 'to urge, to press' in Kuangva, tun is cognate to tu in this sense — this would then confirm the Han school interpretation. A century and a half ago (Hu was a doctor of the Kia-k'ing period) it was quite natural and legitimate to consider 督 tu as a ju sheng (entering tone) corresponding to 敦 tun (even tone); but today we know that tun \*twon and tu was Arch. \*tôk, and that there was no etymological! connection whatever between the two. So the whole of this linguistic speculation falls to the ground. This is not an isolated case, for the Chinese philological literature in question teems with such speculations: a was equal to b, for they »had anciently the same sound», or they »belonged to the same class of initials» or they \*had the same final », briefly everything could be equal to anything else through reference to an ancient phonology of which only the outer framework (the rime groups and the groups of initials) was approximately known, but the true values of which were entirely unknown. Today, thanks to our better knowledge of the archaic Chinese phonology, we are in an infinitely better position to evaluate the different interpretations from a linguistic point of view.

5 In the second place, the Chinese philologists of the Ts'ing era had an almost superstitious reverence for the early dictionaries and their definitions.

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Once a meaning was to be found in Er-va or Shuo wen kie tsī or Kuang-va it was above all suspicion: then it was proved that the character could have such a sense. But this was based on a wrong conception of what these dictionaries really are. If they were dictionaries of the current living language in late Chou time (the epoch of the Warring States, to which the Er-ya has probably to be attributed) or the Han epoch (Shuowen), they would certainly be quite valuable in many difficult cases. They would then have had the same value as the Fang yen, which tells us the living colloquial use and meanings of many words in middle Han time. When Fang-yen tells us that 策 tiao (\*d'ioq / d'ieu / tiao) was a word used in the spoken Han language in the sense of 美 'beautiful', this is of paramount importance for the interpretation of the binome yao-tiao in ode 1: there is a considerable amount of probability that this word and its meaning were not a Han innovation. but that the word tia o had that meaning already in Chou time and was not yet obsolete in the colloquial language of middle Han time. But Er-ya, Shuo-wen and Kuang-ya are not dictionaries of that type, not comparable to the Fang-yen. They are systematically arranged extracts of glosses to classical texts, a fact that has been fully proved by the various Ts'ing scholars (Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Kuei Fu, Wang Yün, Chu Tsün-sheng for the Shuo-wen, Shao Tsin-han and Ho Yi-hang for the Er-ya, Wang Nien-sun for the Kuang-ya), who have patiently examined almost every entry in those dictionaries and traced the classical text which it has in view. The entries in these dictionaries are thus not at all comparable to those in Fang yen but are in principle equal to those in the Mao glosses or the Cheng Hüan notes and other early commentaries on the various classics. If there is any doubt about the correctness of a gloss of Mao's, it is no decisive proof in his defence to adduce an entry to the same effect in Er-ya or Shuo-wen, for such entries would only show that besides Mao there were other early commentators who held the same opinion as Mao regarding the meaning of this difficult word. If, on the other hand, the philologist adduces another pre-Han text, independent of the Shī, where this same word occurs in a connection such as to show unambiguously that the word really can have that meaning, then this is far more valuable evidence. But the Ts'ing scholars, as a rule, paid much more attention to dictionary definitions than to early text parallels, and this is one of their weakest points. They have not sufficiently realized that one unambiguous passage in Chuang-tsi or Mo-tsi or Lun vü or Tso chuan or the early poems of Ch'u ts'ī, in which a difficult Shī word recurs in such a position as to throw light on its meaning, is worth ten times more than a dozen definitions in Er-ya, Shuo-wen, Kuang-ya, Mao's chuan, Cheng Hüan's tsien etc. A single example will suffice to illustrate this. The character 言 yen is defined in many Shī passages as = 我 wo 'I, we, me' both by Mao and Cheng, e. g. in ode 2 (Ko t'an). All the commentators are content to refer to the Er-ya, where (Shī ku) we have yen = wo, and they do not adduce a single text outside the Shī, where yen has this meaning of wo. If, on the other hand, we turn to the commentaries to the Er-ya we find as an explanation of its gloss ye n =

w o simply a reference to the Shi! We are thus moving in a circle. For the proof that the commentator Mao was right in interpreting 言 as 我 we are referred to the \*dictionary \* Er-ya; but the Er-ya 言 = 我 does not mean that the Er-ya author had colloquially heard the word 言 used in the sense of 我, it simply means that the anonymous commentator to the Shī, whose gloss on the ode in question has been extracted and inserted in the Er-ya, held the opinion — adopted afterwards by Mao (after Er-ya!) — that 言 must have meant 我! Similarly, in all the recent dictionaries we find no other confirmation of the yen = wo than Er-ya and Shī. All this has caused Hu Shī (Hu shī wen ts'un, küan 2) to state that there were no examples of ven = wo outside the Shi and the Er-va; and since the question is precisely whether ven means wo or not in the Shī, and the Er-va entry is merely a gloss on the Shī, analogous to that of Mao and Cheng, he concludes that yen never means wo, there being no support for this in other texts. Yet actually there is though it has never been adduced by any Chinese Shī commentator or Er-va commentator or general lexicographer! In Chuang-tsī: Shan mu, we find: 言 奥之 偕逝 »we pass along together with it». Lu Tê-ming (Shīwen) quite rightly comments: v e n = w o. This example throws a glaring light on the insufficiency of the Chinese philological commentators, in spite of all their tremendous zeal: they have relied too much on \*dictionaries \* (which are nothing but collections of glosses on the classics) and have not sufficiently hunted for supporting parallels in real texts of an early epoch. In the third place, the Chinese philologists, even when adducing real texts, have often not sufficiently distinguished between such texts as are early enough to have a corroborative value and those that are too late to be conclusive. In ode 1 there is the phrase 窈窕 y a o - t i a o of debated meaning. Mao defines it as = 幽 聞 'dark and secluded', i. e. 'retiring' (sc. a lady). It is easy to find text parallels where the yao-tiao has this sense of 'secluded', e. g. the Han shu: Sī-ma Siang-ju chuan, the Hou Han shu: Pan Ku chuan, the Lu ling kuang tien fu by Wang Yen-shou etc. But all these examples are posterior to the Mao commentary. Mao's influence was very great already in Eastern Han time, his interpretation: yu-kien 'secluded' of the binome yao-tiao in the famous ode 1 was familiar to every scholar, and so Pan Ku, Fan Ye and Wang Yen-shou in their own writings used the binome in the sense that had been determined as the correct one by the authoritative Mao Heng! These examples of y a o - t i a o = 'secluded' are therefore of absolutely no value for the interpretation of the Shī. If, on the other hand, we could find a pre-Han text where yaotiao is used in the sense of 'secluded' (which we cannot), it would be an invaluable corroboration of Mao's opinion. This distinction between early (\*precommentary») texts and later texts (susceptible of having been influenced by the sense definitions in Han commentaries) is of paramount importance. Chinese philologists very often overlook this, and adduce, in support of Mao glosses or Han, Lu, Ts'i glosses, or Cheng Hüan glosses, various passages of Eastern Han time or even Six dynasties' times — which is absolutely futile.

In my Grammata Serica (BMFEA 12, 1940) I have recorded a great many words out of the Odes and summarily indicated their most important meanings. The principal goal of that work being a systematic exposé of the Archaic Chinese phonology and a study of the Chinese characters in the light of their phonology, there was no space or opportunity for a detailed determination of meanings in debated cases. I had perforce to follow the rule, in such cases, to record the meaning supported by the earliest commentaries (for the Shī I generally followed the Mao chuan). This was a makeshift, and the present work purports to be a fuller complement (and correction) in the numerous cases in which a mere repetition of the Mao interpretation is not sufficient or satisfactory. —

In the present work I have made my references to the findplaces for variants and glosses of the Han, Lu and Ts'i schools very brief. In my gloss 32 below on the line 江之永矣 I indicate briefly: »Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 江之溪矣, the yang defined as = 'long'». A full reference would have run thus: »Han (ap. Sie Han [early 1st c. A. D.], Han Shī chang kü as quoted in Wensüan küan 11, comm. to the Teng lou fu by Wang Ts'an [Wang Chung-süan]) reads » etc. Such full references would have swelled the bulk of my book enormously, and to no purpose. The full references may easily be found, carefully arranged in the order of the odes and stanzas, in the works of Ch'en K'iao-tsung (Shī king sī kia yi wen k'ao, Han Shī yi shuo k'ao, Lu Shī yi shuo k'ao, Ts'i Shī yi shuo k'ao), which are incorporated in the Huang Ts'ing king kie sü pien, a series that is indispensable to every student and exists in all Western libraries of Chinese books. The full references may equally well be culled from Wang Sien-k'ien's Shī san kia yi tsi su. It is therefore not necessary to repeat them in detail here.

In the present work I publish only my consecutive glosses on the Kuo feng section (the first 160 of the 305 odes in the Shi), which constitutes only about one-third of the entire Shi text. Yet in connection with difficult passages in the Kuo feng I treat also a great number of problems in the Ya and Sung sections. Hence the present glosses represent about half of all my notes on the Odes.

In triple word forms like \*d' n / d' m / t' an the 1st form means the Archaic reading (epoch of the Shi), the 2nd form the reading in Ancient Chinese (6th c. A. D.), the 3rd the reading in modern Mandarin. Forms in italics and marked by an asterisk (\*d' n) always mean Archaic Chinese; those in italics without asterisk (d' m) always Ancient Chinese; those spaced in antiqua (t' a n) mean Mandarin.

In order to make it possible for the reader to find at a glance, in most of my glosses, which one of the various interpretations advanced by different schools I consider to be best proved and preferable, I have taken the liberty of printing that preferable interpretation in fat letters. My reasons for singling out this particular interpretation as being the best, and therefore for emphasizing it typographically, are always given in full in my gloss.

#### Abbreviations:

Mao = The Mao school, as represented by Mao Heng and his follower Mao Ch'ang, both 2nd c. B. C., authors of the Mao Shī ku hün chuan. This is embodied as the principal chuan commentary to the Shī in the Shī san king chu su ed. of the Odes. For an extensive investigation of the date and nature of this work of the two Mao, see Karlgren, The Early History of the Chou li and Tso chuan texts, BMFEA 3, 1931, pp. 12—32.

Han = The Han school, the remaining readings and glosses of which are carefully recorded in the above-mentioned works of Ch'en K'iao-tsung and Wang Sien-k'ien.

Lu = The Lu school, ibid.

Ts'i = The Ts'i school, ibid.

Cheng =: Cheng Hüan (Cheng K'ang-ch'eng) († 200 A. D.), author of the Tsien, notes to the Mao version and commentary. Embodied as the »sub-commentary» in the Shī san king chu su ed. of the Odes.

K'ung = K'ung Ying-ta († 648 A. D.), author of the Mao Shī cheng yi. Embodied as the »sub-sub-commentary» in the Shī san king chu su ed. of the Odes.

Chu = Chu Hi († 1200 A. D.), author of the Shi tsi chuan.

Shīwen = King tien shī wen, by Lu Yüan-lang (Lu Tê-ming) († 625 A. D.). Embodied in the Shī san king chu su ed. of the Odes, but also common in many reprints as a separate work. For the history of the King tien shī wen, cf. P. Pelliot, Le Chang chou en caractères anciens et le Chang chou che wen, in: Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, 1916.

Shuowen = Shuo wen kie tsi, by Hü Shen.

Wsüan = Chao ming wen süan.

Yülan = T'ai p'ing yü lan.

Po t'ie = Po K'ung liu t'ie.

Ch'u = Ch'u ts'ī; Chuang = Chuang-tsī; Hanf. = Han-fei-tsī; Huai = Huai-nan-tsī; Kuan = Kuan-tsī; Kyü = Kuo yü; Lao = Lao-tsī; Li = Li ki; Lie = Lie-tsī; Lun = Lun yü; Lü = Lü shī ch'un ts'iu; Meng = Meng-tsī; Mo = Mo-tsī; Shu = Shu king (Shang shu); Ts'ê = Kuo ts'ê; Tso = Tso chuan; Yen = Yen tsī ch'un ts'iu; Yi = Yi king (Chou Yi).

Coll. = colloquially. Etym. = etymology, etymological. Par. = parallel. Phr. = phrase.



#### Ode I : Kuan ta'û.

### 1. Yao tiao shu nü 1.

A. Mao: yao tiao 2=3 'dark and secluded', i. e. retiring in the harem, thus: The retiring and good girl. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan): yao tiao = 4 'chaste', fundamentally the same idea. For yao tiao in this sense, no early text par. (from Han time onwards common, through influence of the authoritative Mao comm.); y a o 5 = 'dark' common (Chuang: Tsai yu etc.); tia o 6: Shuowen says = 'deep in the extreme', but no text ex. in this sense. The char. 6 was made for the word tiao 'to perforate, bore a hole', e. g. Huai: Yao lüe 7 \*to perforate and bore through \* (sc. obstacles), and then applied as loan char. for various words (e. g. tia o 'light, frivolous'), none of them, however, a tiao 'deep'. To take, with Mao, the yao tiao 'dark hole' to mean 'secluded' is strained. — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u): y a o t i a o  $2 \Rightarrow$ 奸 'beautiful' (hao has always this sense of 'beautiful', synon. with 美, in the anc. dictionaries and glosses), thus: • The beautiful and good girl •. Cf. Ch'u: Kiu ko 8: • You long for (admire) me, I am good and beautiful (so all comm., it cannot mean 'secluded' here). For 5 'beautiful' see end of this gloss. For 6 'beautiful' cf. Sün: Li lun 9 t i a o y e (\*d'iog) = 'beautiful' (cognate to 10 y a o y e 'beautiful', \*diog, in Sün : Yüe lun); also coll. current in W. Han time (11, Fang yen). 5 'dark' and 6 'perforate' are thus loan char. for the homophonous yao and tiao 'beautiful'. — B is much better substantiated. Cf. further:

Ode 143. Kiao jen liao hi, shu yao kiao hi 12. A. Mao: yao kiao 13 = 14 'the beautiful appearance of the easiness', thus: \*How handsome is that beautiful person, how easy and beautiful. The char. 15, ordinarily read \*kiog / kiau / kia (Shīwen) 'elegant, beautiful', a word that is later wr. 16, and cognate to 17 \*kog / kau / kiao 'beautiful'. — B. Chu: yao kiao 13 = 18 'dark and tied', thus the ode line: \*May I be relieved of my dark and tied (feelings)\*. — B is hopelessly strained; moreover the sense of 'beautiful' for yao kiao is confirmed by the kiao jen liao hi (12) 'handsome' in the first half of the line.

### 2. Küntsīhao k'iu 19.

A. Mao: k'iu 20 (\*g'iôg | g'i沒u | k'iu) = 21 'one of a pair, a mate', thus: \*A good mate for the gentleman\*. The gloss shows that he thinks 20 is loan char. for 22, see B below. Yet the etymology may be different. Cf. ode 253, phr. 23, to which Mao 24 'to bring together', thus: \*to make it a meeting(-place) for the people\*. Hence here: \*for the gentleman a good (meeting =) union, mateh\*. — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Tsī yi) read 25, where 22 is = 21 'a mate', cf. ode 7, the phrase 26: \*A good companion for the prince\*. 22 \*g'iôg | g'i沒u | k'iu means fundamentally 'a vis-à-vis', hence on the one hand 'antagonist, enemy' (common), on the other 'companion, mate'. — Undecidable whether 20 or 22 best repr. the orig. Shī. The meaning comes to the same, though the etym. is different.

Ts'en ts'i hing ts'ai, see gl. 70.

Tsoyuliuchī 27.

Tso yu 左右.

A. Mao has no gloss, hence takes tso yu in their ordinary sense: \*to the left and the right\*. So also Chu. — B. Cheng: tso yu = 28 'to assist', thus: \*We assist\* — taking it to be the harem ladies assisting the consort in gathering the plants. — Since it is a question of searching and gathering, A is more plausible.

Liu 流流.

A. Mao (after Erya): liu 30 = 29 'to seek', thus: »To left and right we seek it» (sc. the water plant). No text par. Wang Nien-sun thinks  $30 * li\hat{o}g / li\hat{o}u / liu$  is loan

char. for  $31 *gli\hat{o}g / li\hat{g}u / l$  i u (also \*kli\hat{o}g / ki\hat{g}u / k i u). This is earliest known in the sense of 'to seek' in a poem of the 2nd c. A. D (Chang Heng), much too late to be of any value. — B. Chu: liu 30 = 32 'to follow the flow of the water and take it', thus: \*to left and right we flow to it \*. This misses the par. with next st. 33. — C. Another interpr. There is a homophone  $34 *li\hat{o}g / li\hat{g}u / l$  i u = 'basket for catching fish' (ode 170), etym. same stem as  $35 *li\hat{o}g$  'to detain, festhalten', thus properly  $34 *li\hat{o}g$  'the catcher' (of fish).  $30 *li\hat{o}g$  may be loan char. for this stem \*li\hat{o}g: \*To left and right we catch it \* (the floating plant). Cf. the par. in next st. 33 \* to left and right we cull it \*. For a loan 30 for 34, 35, cf. ode 37, where Mao has 36 for 37 and 38. Cf. also Chuang: T'ien ti 40, to which Shīwen 41: \*for 35 some write 30 \*.

A. Mao: f u 43 = 44, thus: •Waking and sleeping he thinks of her. Cf. Shu: K'ang kao 45: •Reflect upon it five or six days. — B. Lu (Kuo P'o comm. to Erya, so also Cheng) f u 43 = 46 'business, duties', thus: •Waking and sleeping he thinks of his duties. (which he cannot discharge without a good wife!). Cf. ode 177, phr. 47: •Discharging his military duties.; Li: Tsi t'ung 48: •You continue your father's work. — B is very scholastic. A gives a good and natural binome sī-fu.

Yu tsai yu tsai, see gl. 90.

5. Tso yu mao chī 49.

A. Mao: m a o 50 (\*mog | mâu | m a o) = 51 'to select, gather' (cf. Erya 50 = 52 'to pluck', with this ode in view), thus: \*To left and right we gather it \*. — B. Shuowen, quoting this ode: m a o 50 = 53 'herbs that cover and spread'. — C. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 54, this 55 \*mog | mâu | m a o in Shuowen defined as = 51 'to select, gather'. — The discrepancy between the schools may be more apparent than real. 50 \*mog means fundamentally 'vegetable' (Yili: T'ê sheng kuei shī li, where Cheng 50 = 56), Shuowen (B above) defining it more precisely as 'spreading plants'. Here then properly: \*To left and right we vegetable it \* i. e. treat it as a vegetable. This is what Mao has paraphrased as = 'we gather it' (Chu quite arbitrarily: \*we cook and present it \*), and Han has modified the char. 50 into 55 (substituting rad. 'eye' for 'herb': 'to look for' = 'to gather') when serving in this extended sense (of 55 no text ex. outside this ode).

### Ode II: Ko t'an.

## 6. Tsi yü kuan mu 57.

A. Mao: k u a n 58 = 59 'densely-growing' (Erya similar definition). Cf. ode 241, phr. 60: The bushy clumps and the rows; Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng 61 'shrubby t' u trees'; ibid.: Ts'ien sheng 62 'crowded (numerous) temples'. 58 means 'libation' and is here loan char. for 63, see B next. — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen to Erya) reads 64. This 63 is only an enlarged form of 65 k u a n = 66 'numerous, a crowd' (Erya), cf.

工務変淑女工務窓 3. 幽閒 4. 貞專 5. 窈 6 発 7 竅窕穿貫 8. 子菓子 5 善窈窕 9 窕冶 n 姚冶 11 窕美 12 佼人僚 5 舒窈糾 5 13 窈糾 46 舒之姿 15 糾 6 編 17 佼姣 18 幽結 19 君子好逑 20 逑 20 匹 20 仇 23 以為民逑 26 远 君子好仇 26 公侯好仇 47 左右 流之 28 助 27 求 30 流 31 撑 32 順水之流而取之 33 左右 采之 34 醫 35 留 36 流 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 19 到 46 留或作流 在寤寐 思服 43 服 44 思之 45 服 念五 六日 44 事 47 共武之服 44 若纂 乃考之服 45 左右 笔之 50 笔 21 挥 52 塞 53 艸 覆 蔓 也 54 左右 纪 之 55 包 46 菜 52 集于灌木 52 灌

Sün: Wang pa 67: '(connected, assembled =) numerous days' (so also Ts'ê: Wei 4). Etym. all this goes back to the fundamental sense of 65 'to string together, connect, pile up, to crowd'; kuan mu = 'strung together = densely crowded, thickly growing trees'.

7. K'i ming kie kie 68.

A. Mao: kie kie 69 = 70 'the harmonious notes being heard far off'. Thus: »(Their singing is harmoniously resounding:) they sing in unison. Mao considers our  $69 * ker / k \ddot{a}i / k$  ie as cognate to  $71 * k \varepsilon r$  'all, all together' and  $72 * g'\varepsilon r / \gamma \ddot{a}i / h$  ie 'in harmony'. — B. Shuowen simply: kie 69 = 73 'the sound of birds singing'. — The doublet kie kie is common as describing birds' song (odes 90, 168, 252); for musical instruments we have it in odes 208 and 260. A more difficult case is ode 51:

Pei feng k'i kie 74.

A. Mao: k i e 69 = 75: \*The wind is rapid (rushing) \*. No text par. — B. Chu: k i e 69 = 76 'the sound of rapid (sc. wind)', an attempt to reconcile Mao with the other odes, where k i e means a sound. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks 69 is loan char. for  $77 *g'er/\gamma \tilde{a}i/h$  i e (Ts'ie yün) 'cold', cf. ode 90, where Mao has 78: \*The wind and rain are cold \*, but Shuowen reads 79, same meaning (see gl. 234 below). Thus here: \*The North wind is cold \*. — C is confirmed by the par. in st. 1: 80. — Since our k i e 69 (ode 51, phr. 74 being thus set aside) always occurs for birds' song or musical instruments, the A idea in 68 is quite plausible.

8. Shī vi shī huo 81.

A. Mao: h u o 82 (\*g'wâk |  $\gamma w$ âk | h u o) = 83, thus: •We cut it and boil it•. Lu (ap. Erya) reads 84. 85 \*g'wâk |  $\gamma w$ âk | h u o 'boiling pot' (common, e. g. Chouli) is here taken as a verb: •we pot-boil it•. 82 and 85 are etym. the same word. — B. Another school (ap. Po t'ie and Yülan) reads 86 •we cut it and reap it ». — No reason to abandon the oldest schools (A).

9. Fuchīwuyi 87.

A. Mao (after Erya): y i 88 (\* $d_i \bar{a}k / i\bar{a}k / y$  i) = 89 'fed up with, tired of', thus: »I will wear it without getting tired of it». Text par. ode 260, Shu: Lo kao etc. The fundamental sense is 'ample, overmuch, to be satiated', hence ode 301, phr. 90: »The bells and drums are ample(-sounding)», to which Mao y i 88 = 91 'ample' (Cheng: y i = 92 'orderly' lacks support in text par.). — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Tsī yi) read 93. Here 94 (ordinarily read \* $d_i \bar{a}k / dz_i \bar{a}k / s$  h ī 'to shoot') is loan char. for \* $d_i \bar{a}k / y$  i 'fed up'. The reading 95 occurs also in the Mao version of ode 266, phrase 96, which, again, is quoted as 97 in Li: Ta chuan.

10. Yen kao shi shi, yen kao yen kuci 98.

A. Mao yen 99 = 100 'I', thus: "I tell the matron, I tell her that I return home". Cf. Chuang: Shan mu 1: "We pass along together with it". — B. Chu: yen 99 is a particle: "(I) tell the matron", etc., the 'I' having to be supplied by the context, yen being merely an out-filling particle. — B is championed a. o. by Ch'en Huan, who points out that our 2 (also in odes 187, 188, 298) corresponds to 3 in ode 227 and to 4 in odes 101, 156, 167; yen, yün, yüe are synonymous particles. Following a verb we have the particle yen in ode 203, phr. 5 (observe the parallelism between 99 and 6), which is quoted by Sün: Yu tso as 7. And in Yi: Kua 7 we find 8: "If there is game, it is advantageous to catch it"; here 99 is equal to 6. — B is confirmed by the parallelism with next line, which equally starts by a particle (powuwosī).

Po薄.

A. Mao no gloss in this ode, but in ode 8: po 10 = 11 'a particle'. Thus, simply: I will soak my private clothes. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) under ode 273 same gloss. Frequent in Shī (odes 8, 13, 26, 35, 168, 177 etc.), but no par. in other texts. — B.

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Cheng (comm. to ode 273): p o 10 = 12 in the sense of 13 'first, now first', thus: \*And now I will soak my private clothes. No text par. Cheng's expl. is a script etymology, 12 forming part of the char. 10. — C. Chu: po 10 = 14 'a little', thus: I will soak my private clothes a little. Po 10 = 'thin, slight, insignificant' is common, and Chu has seized upon this. — The frequent use of po in the Shī as a mere particle (in acc. with oldest comm., Mao and Han) has been correctly recognized by all the best later scholars.

**A.** Mao: w u 15 = f a n 16. This enigmatic gloss has been variously interpreted. a. Cheng: fan 16 = 'to work laboriously on' (sc. the clothes, in order to clean them). Later scholars adduce as par. Tso: Chao 1, phr. 17 'to avoid laborious service' (Tu Yü = 18); but this means properly 'to avoid dirty jobs'.  $\beta$ . Ch'en Huan: f an 16 = 'dirt' (no text support), and this 'dirt' would then mean 'to un-dirt', see B next. — B. Chu: w u 15 'dirt' is equal to 'to un-dirt' = 'to cleanse' (just as 19 'disorder' also can mean 'to bring into order'), thus: »I will un-dirt my private clothes a little ». — C. Another interpr.: wu 15 means simply 'to wet, to soak', thus: "I will soak my private clothes" (and then next line po huan wo yi "I will wash my dress"). Cf. Lü: Lun jen 20: \*To escape being wet by rain \*. — The fundamental meaning of wu is this 'wet, to wet, moisture'. hence on the one hand 'a pool' (Tso), on the other '(to wet:) to bedraggle, to soil, dirt. C. is therefore simple and plausible.

#### Ode III: Küan er.

12. Chī pi Chou (chou) hing (hang) 21.
A. Mao: 22 = 23 'the ranks of Chou', thus: »(I think of my beloved one), he is placed on the ranks of Chou». Tso: Siang 15, quoting this ode, adds: 24 \*\* that shows ability in choosing officers, which shows that the Tso author also took 22 to mean 'the ranks of Chou'. So also Sün: Kie pi and Huai: Shu chen. — B. Another school. Tu Yü (3rd c. A. D.) to Tso: Siang 15 says: 25 = 26 'all round, everywhere' (common), thus: "He is placed on one of the multitudinous ranks. — C. Chu: 22 = 27 'the great road', taking it to refer to the basket, thus: \*I put it on the great road \*. For chou 25 = 'great' no text support whatever. — There are two more odes with 22:

Ode 203. Hing pi Chou (chou) hing (hang) 28. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng: 22 = 23 (as Mao in ode 3 above), thus: \*(The young gentlemen) walk in the ranks of Chou. - B. Chu: 22 = 'the great road', thus: »(The young gentlemen) walk in the great road». No support for chou = 'great'. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: 22 = 'the road of Chou', thus: »(The young gentlemen) walk in the road of Chou».

57.聚《其灌其例《灌茶《灌廟《橘《集于檑木《贯《农《贯日《其鸣喈喈《喈 20 和聲之遠聞以答及諧双烏鳴聲》北風其唱75疾兒76疾聲72潛在風雨淒淒79風 雨浴浴的北風其凉水是刈是灌及濩的煮之以是鑊的鑊以是刈是獲的服之無數的 **数55.肤50腐鼓有数 51.益 22.有次序53.服之無射56.無射56.無射於人斯55.無數58.** 言告師氏言告言歸於言心我工言與之偕逝之言歸 3 云歸 4 曰歸 5 睠言顧之潸焉 出消6馬7眷馬顧之8有萬利執言9薄污我私//薄/解皮甫/3始//少/5污//煩 刀辟污19 勞事 1/ 亂 20 逃雨 污z) 真彼周行zz周行zz周之列位z4 能官人也z5周 26 编 双大道双行使周行双示我周行双至道30至双示33窗34示我漠行35行董公不用其

Ode 161. Shī wo Chou (chou) hing (hang) 29. A. Mao: 22 = 30 'the perfect way', thus: »He shows me the perfect way ». Yi Chou shu: Shī fa says that chou 25 as a posthumous title means 31 'perfect'; this is then chou 25 = 'all round, complete, perfect'. — B. Chu: 22 = 27 'the great way': »He shows me the great way (principle). Again, chou is not attested in the sense of 'great'. — C. Cheng: shī 32  $(*\tilde{d}'i)$  is here loan char. for 33  $(*\tilde{t}i)$ , thus: \*He places me on the ranks of Chou \*; a desperate attempt to construe the line after our ode 3 above (Mao school). — D. Ts'i: Wang Sien-k'ien reminds of an ode by Pan Ku (Ts'i school): 34 \*He shows me the way (principles) of Han, obviously calqued on our ode 161, so the Ts'i school must have interpr.: »He shows me the way of Chou». — The binome 22 cannot, with Mao, mean 'the ranks of Chou' in one ode, 'the perfect way' in another. Chu has tried to obtain one interpr. for all cases, but has invented a meaning chou = 'great' which does not exist. We state: first, that in phr. 28 the meaning 'road' (not rank') is certain, as shown by the context: »Wih the dolichos shoes one can walk on the frost; the young gentlemen walked on that road of Chou; they have gone and they have come, they have made my heart ache »; secondly, that chou cannot mean Chou (state name) in one ex. and 'all round, perfect' in another. Only Chou (state name) can be applied in all cases. Thus we obtain: Phr. 21: I place it (the basket) on the road of Chou. Phr. 28: (The young gentlemen) walked in the road of Chou. Phr. 29: He shows me the road of Chou. (here taken figuratively, in a moral sense). Consequently 📅 meaning 'road' and not 'rank' should in all cases be read \*g'  $ang / \gamma vng / hing$  (Chou hing), as in ode 246: 35 Hing we is and in ode 193: 36 pu yung k'i hing (and not Chou hang). That the ancient authors (Tso, Sün, Huai, Mao) took 22 to mean 'the ranks of Chou' is one ex. of many of the early scholastic tendency to interpr. some odes as testifying to good government. 13. Wo ma huei t'uei 37.

A. Mao: h u e i t' u e i 38 = 39 'suffering, sick' (after Erya 20 id.), thus: »My horses are sick». Variants: 41 (Shuowen ap. Shīwen, and Ts'ie yün), 42 (Shuowen). The char. 43 \*χwər / χuậi / h u e i 'snake' is loan char. for 41 \*χwər / χuậi / h u e i 'sickness of a horse' (Ts'ie yün). No text par. For t' u e i (\*d'wər / d'uậi / t' u e i), cf. Li: T'an kung 42 'to collapse'. — B. Ts'i (ap. Yi lin, hex. 22) reads 44, defined as 45 'exhausted, fagged out', thus: »My horses are fagged out». 46 \*g'wər / γuậi / h u e i (thus not identical with but cognate to the 41, 43 in A) recurs in the Lu version (ap. Shuowen) of ode 197, meaning 'sick'. — Undecidable whether \*χwər or \*g'wər best repr. the orig. Shī.

### Ode IV: Nan yu kiu mu.

14. Nan yu kiu mu 47.

A. Mao: k i u 48 = 49 'tree curving down', thus: In the South there are trees with down-curving branches. No text par. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 50. Of this, two interpr. a. Erya 51 'down-curving is called k i u '.  $\beta$ . Shuowen k i u 52 = 53 'high tree', thus: In the South there are high trees. No text par. —  $48 * kli\delta g / ki2u / k i u$  and  $52 * ki\delta g / ki2u / k$  i u were not identical but similar and cognate words. The sense of 'to curve, bend, twist' in the word stem is confirmed by 48 or  $54 * kli\delta g$  'to twist' Yili: Sang fu,  $55 * kli\delta g$  'to twist' Li: Ta chuan,  $56 * g'i\delta g$  'horn-shaped, long and curved' Ku-liang.

A. Mao (after Erya): tsiang 58 = 59 'great', thus: May happiness and dignity make him great. Cf. ode 304, phr. 60: The Jung house began to become great; ode 157, phr. 61: Very great; Li: Yüe ling 62: It becomes more perfect every day and more great every month. Coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen tsiang = ta 'great'), and cognate to 63 \*tsiang 'great, strong, robust' (Shī). — B. Cheng: tsiang 58 = 64 'to support and help', thus: May happiness and dignity support him. Shuowen has a

word 65 \*tsiang 'to support', but this is only a sense variation of the ordinary 58 \*tsiang 'to take, hold, lead'. — No reason to abandon A, which is well supported.

### Ode V: Chung si.

16. Chung sī yü 66.

A. Mao: chung sī 67 = 68 (a kind of locust), thus: The wings of the locusts. Quoted as 69 in Chung king yin yi. Cf. ode 154, phr. 70: In the 5th month the locust moves its legs. Erya has corresp. the binome 71. — B. Another school (mentioned but not followed by Chu): sī 72 is a particle, as often. Thus chung alone would be 'the locust', sī merely an \*empty word. Cf. ode 197, phr. 73: The running of the deer.; ode 189, phr. 74: Like the bird's changing feathers. etc. (common). In ode 154 (70) as well, the sī may be construed as a particle. — The facts that there are no text par. for 72 in the A sense and that we should have to operate with two binomes chung-sī and sī-chung make interpr. A unlikely. The par. in odes 197, 189 etc. decide in favour of B.

#### 17. Shen shen hi 75.

A. Mao: shen shen 76 (\*sien / sien / shen) = 77, thus: \*(The wings of the locusts) are numerous. Cf. ode 163, phr. 78 (\*sien): \*The numerous runners\* (Mao: shen shen = 77), Lu var. 79, Han var. 80; ode 257, phr. 81 (\*sien): \*Numerous are its deer\* (Mao shen shen = 77); Ch'u: Chao hun 82 (\*sien): \*They go and come in flocks\*. (Shuowen defines 83 = 84 'the appearance of their going', and Wang Yi comm. to Ch'u = 'the sound of their going', but Chu Hi better = 'numerous'; Chu, however, in order to reconcile Mao and Shuowen, says to phr. 78: 'numerous and quickly marching', and to phr. 81 'numerous and running', which is quite arbitrary). — B. Chu: shen shen 76 = 95, thus: \*They are collecting harmoniously\*. No text par. — No reason to abandon A.

### **18.** Chen chen hi 96.

A. Mao: chen chen 97 = 98 'good and generous', thus: »(May your sons and grandsons) be good and generous». — B. Chu: chen chen 97 = 99 'ample, abundant, numerous', thus: »(May your sons and grandsons) be numerous». We should compare the foll. cases:

Ode 11. Chen chen kung tsī 100. Mao: chen chen 97 = 1, thus: The trusty and generous sons of the prince. Similarly ode 19, phr. 2, Mao same definition. Ode 298. Chen chen lu 3. Mao: chen chen 97 = 4, thus: The egrets flying in flock. Similarly ode 278, phr. 5.

Tso: Hi 5, phr. 6. A. Tu Yü: chen chen 97 = 99: The military uniforms are ample (abundant). — B. Wei Chao to the same phr. in Kyü: Tsin 2: chen chen 97 = 7: The military uniforms are awe-inspiring (majestic).

行37我馬虺隋37虺隋37病40虺饋4痕4額47虺4瘟隋55 第84應47南有楊木48楊4木下曲50南有州木50下旬日州22州53高木47捌55,繆52刷57福履將之52將52大60有戎方將61亦孔之將62日就月將63壯4扶助65將46螽斯羽62螽斯68蚣婿69螽蟹70五月斯螽動股70蟹螽及斯73鹿斯之奔24如鳥斯草35說許5年說72聚多28、 戰戰在大7代 80章 3, 链丝其鹿皮住來佚供85件 81行完55和集56振振节57振5位厚, 盛加振振公子, 信厚 2 振振者子 3 振振器 4 羣發兒 5 振駕 6 均服振振 7 威

Lü: Shen jen 8, to which Kao Yu: = 9 'the abundance (great number) of the many friends' (yet there are many variants of the passage, and it is unsafe). —

On the one hand, it is clear that in phr. 3 (5) chenchen chen means no moral quality, but refers to number: \*The flocking, numerous egrets \*; chen 97 frequently means 'to put up in array' (e. g. 10), and 'arrayed egrets, egrets in a row' = 'flocking egrets'. On the other hand, in phr. 100 (2) it clearly does not refer to numbers but to some moral quality. For Mao's 'good and generous' and 'trusty and generous' there is no support; chen, fundamentally meaning 'to shake', is here = '(shaking =) awe-inspiring' (see Wei to the Kyü-passage), cf. Kung-yang: Hi 9, phr. 11: \*What is meant by his (the duke's) shaking them? — it is equal to saying that he was awe-inspiring (majestic) \*. — In our ode 5 here, chenchen chenchen either 'numerous' or 'majestic'. The former is confirmed by the simile of the st.: the locusts are numerous — may your descendants be numerous. We thus obtain: Phr. 75: \*(May your sons and grandsons) be numerous. Phr. 100: \*The majestic sons of the prince\*. Phr. 3: \*The flocking, numerous egrets\*. Tso (Kyü), phr. 6: \*The military uniforms are majestic\*.

19. Hung hung hi 12. A similar phr. 13 in ode 96.

A. Mao: h u n g h u n g 14 = 15, thus: \*(The wings of the locusts) are numerous. This after Erya; but one Erya version has the var. 16. If  $14 *\chi mwang / \chi wang / h$  u n g was loan char. for a \* $\chi wang / \chi wang / h$  u n g 'numerous', the latter may be cognate — as suggested, perhaps, by the Erya var. — to  $17 *g'wang / \gamma wang / h$  u n g 'vast, ample'. — B. Kuang ya has two entries 18 and 19 h u n g h u n g = 'to fly', which probably have this ode in view, thus: \*(The wings of the locusts) are flying \*. For the two var., cf. Erya above. — C. Chu: h u n g h u n g 14 = 20, thus: \*(The wings of the locusts) sound  $\chi wang \chi wang *$ . — A. is confirmed by the par. shen shen in st. 1, see gl. 17, and t s i t s i in st. 3, see gl. 21.

20. Sheng sheng hi 21.

A. Mao: sheng sheng 22 = 23 'careful of conduct' (after Erya sheng sheng sheng = 24, var. 25 ap. Shiwen). Similarly Han (ap. Yü p'ien) sheng sheng 22 = 26 'respectful, careful'. Thus: »(May your sons and grandsons) be careful». Cf. Kuan: Chou ho 27: »The sage is careful, and cautious about what he places first»; Huai: Miu ch'eng 28: »Late generations are careful and only afraid of neglecting goodness and righteousness». — B. Chu: sheng sheng 22 = 29 'uninterrupted', thus: »(May, your sons and grandsons) be in a continuous line». Sheng 22 'rope, line' = 'series, continuous', cf. Lao 30: »(Continuous:) infinite, unnameable». — Both interpr. have text par.; but as in st. 1, the simile of the st. confirms B: the locusts are numerous — may your descendants be in a continuous line. — There are two more odes to be examined here:

Ode 243. Sheng sheng tsu wu 31. A. Mao: sheng 22 = 24, thus: \*Be careful in the steps of your forefathers\*. — B. Chu: sheng 22 = 32, thus: \*Continue in the steps of your forefathers\*. — Our par. in ode 5 above confirms B.

Ode 256. Tsī sun sheng sheng 33. Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng: sheng sheng 22 = 24, thus: »May the sons and grandsons be careful». — B. Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 34: May the sons and grandsons be continuous». 22 \*d'ing and 35 \*ding are very similar in sound, and give here the same idea. — B is confirmed by the par. of ode 5 above.

21. Tsi tsi hi 36.

**A.** Mao:  $t ext{ s i } t ext{ s i } 37 = 38$  'assemble, crowd together', thus: »(The wings of the locusts) are in crowds». Shīwen reads alt. \* $tsi\partial p / tsi\partial p / t ext{ s i }$  and \* $tsi\partial p / tsi\partial p / t ext{ s i }$  and \* $tsi\partial p / tsi\partial p / t ext{ s i }$  the former is etym. cognate to, the latter id. with  $39 ext{ *} tsi\partial p / tsi\partial p / t ext{ s i 'to collect' (ode 273), and cognate to <math>40 ext{ *} dz'i\partial p / dz'i\partial p / t ext{ s i 'to bring together, harmonious' (common), etym. s. w. a. <math>41 ext{ *} dz'i\partial p / dz'i\partial p / t ext{ s i 'to come together, assemble, collect' (common).}$ 

Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien), where 42 is rendered by 43 in Sī-ma Ts'ien's version. Cf. also ode 190, phr. 44 (\*tṣiəp | tṣiəp | c h ī): \*Their horns are c h ī c h ī crowded together \*.

— B. Lu (ap. Sin sü) reads 45 \*dz'iəp, see above. — Whether the line originally read 37 \*tsiəp or \*37 \*tṣiəp or 45 \*dz'iəp in early Chou time, the meaning is certain: 'in crowds', which suits the parallelism of the stanzas.

22. Chī chī hi 46.

A. Mao: chī chī 47 = 48, thus: »(May your sons and grandsons) be harmoniously united». — B. Chu: chī chī 47 = 49, thus: »(May your sons and grandsons) be numerous». Chī 47 means properly 'to hibernate' (of insects), hence 'to cluster': may your descendants cluster = be there in great numbers, like clustering insects. —

To sum up: In the three st. of this ode, the 1st lines (gl. 17, 19, 21) say that the locusts are n u m e r o u s; the 3rd lines (gl. 18, 20, 22) whish that the descendants be equally n u m e r o u s. Mao, who takes the 3rd lines to express moral qualities (gl. 18 'good and generous', gl. 20 'careful', gl. 22 'harmoniously united') has missed the simile.

### Ode VI: T'ao yao.

## 23. T'ao chī yao yao 50.

A. Mao: y a o y a o  $51 (*iog / i\ddot{a}u / y a o) = 52$  'young and vigorous', thus: "How young and vigorous is that peach tree». Similarly ode 32, phr. 53, to which Mao: v a o y a o 51 = 54: "The heart of the jujube tree is (ample:) luxuriant". To ode 148, phr. 55, Mao simply yao = 'young': "The (moisture:) glossiness of the young (Ch'ang-ch'u tree)». Shuowen, enlarging the char. into 56 (no other text ex.), follows Mao: 56 = 57'young and (ample:) luxuriant', quoting our ode 6 here. Acc. to this school, the fundamental idea is 'vigour, ampleness'. No par. in other texts. — B. Another school (also adduced by Shuowen, quoting this ode) reads 58, this 59 (\*  $iog / i\ddot{a}u / y$  a o ) defined as = 60 artful, roguish, arch'. Applicable to our ode line only figuratively: »How (roguish:) charming, pleasant is that peach tree ». Cf. Ta Tai: Ts'ien sheng 61: »When a daughter acts on her own (without consulting her parents), it is called roguish (arch)»; Lun: Shu er 62: »(When the master was at leisure, he was easy and) y a o y a o ju pleasant ». — C. Chu: yao yao 51 = 63 'young and beautiful'. This comes near to the preceding, but emphasizes the meaning 'young, delicate, tender, beautiful', thus phr. 50: »How delicately beautiful is the peach tree; phr. 53: The heart of the jujube tree is delicately beautiful; phr. 55: The glossiness of the delicately beautiful (Ch'ang-ch'u tree)». Cf. Shu: Yü kung 64: »Its grass is delicate (slender)»; Kyü: Lu yü 65: »In the marshes one does not cut down young (trees) »; ode 143, phr. 66: »How easy and delicately beautiful »; Lie: T'ang wen 67: »Young beauties filled the hall»; Ch'u: Chao hun 68: »Beautiful playthings». — C is obviously best supported.

### 24. Cho cho k'i hua 69.

A. Mao: cho cho 70 = 71, thus: Abundant are its flowers. No text par. — B. Another school (ap. Kuang ya): cho cho 70 = 72, thus: Brilliant are its flowers. Cf. Shu: Lo kao, cho 70 = 'to blaze'; Shu: Li cheng, cho 70 = 'bright, evident, manifest'. — B is better supported.

#### Ode VII: Tu tsü.

### 25. Su su t'u tsü 73.

A. Mao (after Erya): su su 74 = 75 'respectful'; \*Respectful is the rabbit net \* making no sense, it is expl. as an ellipsis: \*Respectfully (laid out) is the rabbit net \* — frightfully scholastic. Chu, paraphrasing su su 76 'correctly laid out' tries to dissemble the inanity of the Mao gloss. — B. Another interpr. 74 \* siôk / siuk / su = 77 \* siôk / siuk / su, Kuang ya = 78 'to beat', thus: \*We beat down the rabbit net\* (the pegs holding the net). Cf. Ch'u: Kiu ko 79; Wang Nien-sun (Kuang ya su cheng) has cleverly seen that the first word in each phr. here must be a verb, and he emendates: \*We stretch the strings of the harp, we pair-wise strike the drum, we be a t the bell, we shake the bell-frame (\$1\$ recurs in Ch'u: Chao hun). So \$2\$ is loan char. for 77; so also 73 for the homophonous 77 in our ode here. — B is a construction par. to many in the odes with a reduplicated first verb: 83 \*we pluck the k ü a n - e r plant \* etc. Moreover the context strongly confirms B, for the line continues 84: \*We beat it down (its pegs) c h e n g c h e n g . We should compare also:

Ode 181. Su su k'i yü 85. A. Mao: su su 74 = 'the sound of the wings', thus: \*(The wild geese are flying),  $si\delta k - si\delta k$  sound their wings \*. It is easy and convenient to explain many words in the odes as onomatopes, but we should not do so when they have a good real meaning. — B. 74 is probably here again a short-form for 77: \*Beating (flapping, battering) are their wings \*.

## 26. Kiu kiu wu fu 86.

A. Mao (after Erya): k i u 87 (\* $ki\delta g$  | ki2u | k i u) = 88 'martial', thus: \*The martial warrior\*. No text par. — B. Another school (ap. Hou Han shu) reads 89. This 90 (properly \* $ki\delta g$  | ki2u | k i u 'to twist, to bind', gl. 269), occurs as loan char. for \*ki0g | kiau | k i a o = 'elegant' in ode 143, phr. 91 (see gl. 1 above), and it is then the same word that in later ages has been wr. 92. Thus: \*The elegant warrior\*. — It has often been said that the 90 of school B is merely a loan char. for the 87 of A. But obviously 87 may equally well be a loan char. for 90, and has then to be read, not \* $ki\delta g$  | ki2u | k i u (with Shīwen) but \*ki0g | kiau | k i a o. Indeed, for A there is no text par., and the Erya-Mao definition may be simply deduced from the following 93 'warrior'. For B there is a good Shī par., and it seems therefore preferable.

## 27. Kung hou han ch'eng 94.

A. Mao (after Erya)  $95 = 96 *g'\hat{a}n / \gamma\hat{a}n / h$  a n 'to ward off, protect', thus: \*A protection and wall to the prince. Shiwen reads  $95 *k\hat{a}n / k\hat{a}n / k$  a n (as B below), but records the \*old way \* of reading \*g'\hat{a}n / \gamma\hat{a}n / h a n. This goes back to Tso: Ch'eng 12, phr. 97: \*It is that by which the prince protects and (walls:) guards his people; the Ode says....\*. Cf. ode 178, phr. 98: \*A host of protectors \*(Shiwen 95 \*g'\hat{a}n / \gamma\hat{a}n / h a n); Tso: Siang 25, phr. 99: \*We, assistant officers, keep guard \*(Shiwen \*g'\hat{a}n). — B. Cheng: 95 = 'shield', thus: \*Shield and wall to the prince \*. —  $95 *k\hat{a}n$  and  $95, 96 *g'\hat{a}n$  are cognate words, two aspects of the same stem, and both interpr. are plausible. No reason, however, to abandon the oldest (A), which is well supported.

28. Shī yü chung k'uei 100.

A. Mao: k'u e i l=2, thus: »Place where 9 roads meet». Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 3, same expl. The etym. ('9 roads') of these schools may be suggested by

the Han variant 4, and 1, 4 \* g'iwag / g'jwi / k' u e i would then be cognate to 5 \* kiwg / kiwu / k iu 'nine'. — B. Shuowen. Same expl. but different etym.: 1, 4 \* g'iwag, a thoroughfare for nine roads resembles the back of a 6 \* kiwag / kjwi / k u e i 'tortoise'. \*g'iwag and \*kiwag would then be cognate. — C. Tu Yü (comm. to Tso: Yin 11), same expl., different etym.: 1, 4 \* g'iwag is where there are many 7 \* kiwag / kjwi / k u e i 'ruts'. \*g'iwag 'thoroughfare' and \*kiwag 'rut' then cognate. — The interpr. C: 'the rut-place' is most convincing. The stem alternation  $k \sim g'$  is exceedingly common, see BMFEA 5, p. 100.

### Ode VIII: Fou yi.

29. Line 10: Po yen kie chī 8. Line 12: Po yen hie chī 9.

A. Mao (after Erya): 10 \* kiet | kiet | k i e = 11 'to hold the skirt flaps' (in order to carry in them), thus: \*And we take it in our held-up flaps.  $12 * g'iet | \gamma iet | h$  i e = 13 'to tuck in the skirt flaps' (under the girdle, in order to carry), thus: \*And we take it in our tucked-in flaps. No text par. — B. Lu. Kuangya k i e = 10 = 14 'sleeve', thus: \*And we take it in our sleeves\*; h i e = 12 = 15 'bosom', thus: \*And we take it in our bosom\*. That this was the Lu school interpr. is shown by Lie nü chuan: Ts'ai jen chī ts'i: \*Though the fou y i was evil-smelling and vile, they first gathered and plucked it, and 16 finished by carrying it in the bosom\*. No early text par. — A is preferable, since it gives us a pair of cognate words with kindred meaning: \*kiet 'to hold the flap': \*g'iet 'to tuck in the flap' (stem alternation  $k \sim g'$ , see gl. 28).

#### Ode IX: Han kuang.

30. Nan yu k'iao mu 17.

A. Mao: k'i a o 18 = 19 'standing up', more fully expl. by Lu (ap. Kao Yu to Huai): 20 'a tree standing up and with little shade', i. e. rising high, tall, thus: In the South there are tall trees. In ode 165, phr. 21, Mao simply (after Erya): k'i a o 18 = 22 'high'. Cf. ode 273, phr. 23 'high mountain'; Lie: T'ang wen 24 'high peak'. — B. Another school. Shuowen (quoting this ode): k'i a o 18 = 25 'high and bending', thus: In the South there are trees that are high and bending. Cf. Erya: 26 'crooked like a plume is k'i a o'. — Interpr. B is not applicable in the examples 23 and 24, A suits all.  $18 *g'iog / g'i\ddot{a}u / k'i$  a o is etym. id. w.  $27 *g'iog / g'i\ddot{a}u / k'i$  a o 'peak' (Yi Chou shu, Lie), and cognate to  $22 *kog / k\hat{a}u / k$  a o 'high'.

### 31. Pu k'o yung sī 28.

A. Mao (after Erya) y u n g 29 = 30 'to walk plunging into water', futher expl. by Kuo P'o to Erya: 31 'to walk on the bottom of the water', i. e. to wade. Thus. \*(The Han river is so broad), it cannot be waded across. B. Erya: y u n g 29 = 32 'to swim', thus: \*It cannot be swum across. — C. Legge: y u n g 29 = 'to dive', thus: \*It cannot be dived across. — Interpr. B is not tenable; Erya, indeed, often defines a word by another that is not strictly synonymous but only kindred in meaning. 32 means 'to float on the surface, to swim', whereas y u n g 29 is 'to be submerged, to go down in the water', either by diving or by wading. For the former, cf. Yen: Wen, hia 33: \*(The fish) gets all the pleasure of its swimming and diving. Lie: Huang-ti (he pointed to an abyss in a nook of the River and said: there is a pearl:) 34 \*by diving you can get it." For the latter, 'to wade', cf. ode 35: \*Where the water was deep, I crossed it by raft or by boat; where it was shallow, 35 I waded or swam across it. Here y u n g stands opposed to y u 'to swim', and consequently does not mean 'I swam it'. \*I dived it.\* (Legge) makes no sense; why should one dive if the water is stated to be shallow? In the same way, A is the true meaning of our ode here.

## 32. Kiang chī yung yi 36.

A. Mao: y u n g 37 = 38 'long', thus: "The long (course) of the Kiang". — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 39, the y a n g 40 defined as = 38 'long'. In this 40, the rad. 'water' is a mere superfetation, for Erya has y a n g 41 = 38 'long', and Shuowen quotes 42. Meaning as A. Cf. the bronze inscr. on the Hü tsī Chuang Fu (K'i ku shī ki kin wen shu 5: 26) 43 'forever to treasure and use' (equal to the ordinary 44). Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng 45: "Then there are long nights — y a n g means ch' a n g 'long'". Here 46 \*ziang is loan char. for 41 \*ziang. — The words 37 \*giwang | jiwung | y u n g and 40, 41 \*ziang | iang | y a n g, though synonymous, were by no means identical, nor even cognate. Undecidable whether \*giwang or \*ziang best repr. the orig. Shī.

## 33. K'iao k'iao ts'o sin 47.

**A.** Mao: in the 2nd st.: k'i a o k'i a o 48 = 49 'the appearance of the firewood', which is little elucidating. Yet in st. 3 Mao indirectly reveals his meaning: 50 'the 1 ü is the tallest among the herbs'. K' i a o 48 therefore = 'high, tall'. Thus our line: •Tall (rising high) is that mixed firewood. Cf. ode 155, phr. 51: (the bird says:) »My house (nest) is perilously placed (Mao, after Erya, k' i a o k' i a o 48 = 52 'perilous', i. e. high up in the tree), tossed about by wind and rain»; Chuang: Ma t'i 53: "To lift the foot high »; Huai: Siu wu 54: »To lift the tail high »; Li: Ju hing 55: »(He lifts it up =) he explains it to him ». Following Mao, Chu defines k'i ao k'i ao = 56 'rising flourishingly'. 48 \*g'iog / g'iau / k' i a o 'high' is cognate to 57 \*ngiog / ngieu / y a o 'high' (Mo: Ts'in shī), to 58 \*kiog / kieu / k i a o 'high' (sc. mountain, coll. current in W. Han time, Fang yen), to 59 \* kog / kau / k a o 'high', and probably etym. id. with 60 \* g'iog / lg'iäu / k' i a o 'high' (see gl. 30). — B. Another school. Kuangya (probably having this ode in view): k'i a o k'i a o 48 = 61 'numerous'. No text par., and the meaning is probably a free paraphrase: »Piled up high (faggot upon faggot) is that mixed firewood» (therefore 'numerous', in great quantities). — A, which refers to brushwood not yet cut, is preferable, for the line continues: yen yi k'i ch'u we cut the wild thorn ».

## **34.** Yen yi k'i lü *62*.

A. Mao reads thus: \*We cut the southernwood . — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 63: \*We gather the southernwood ». — The par. with st. 2, phr. 64 makes A preferable.

#### Ode X: Ju fen.

35. Ni ju chou ki 65.

Ni怒.

A. Mao: n i 66 = 67 'the idea of hunger', i. e. 'dissatisfied, hungry for, desirous, longing' (this after Erya n i 66 = 68 'hungry'), thus: »I was longing for (him) as if morning-hungry». Cf. ode 197, phr. 69, to which Mao (after Erya) n i 66 = 70: »I think longingly». — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 71. Shuowen 72 = 73 'grieved, unhappy', thus: »Unhappy as if morning-hungry». No text par. — 66\*ni6k/niek/n i 'dissatisfied, hungry for' and 72\*niok/niek/n i 'grieved, unhappy' were not identical but similar and cognate words, both coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen, both there defined as = 73).

Chou 調.

A. Mao: 74 = 75 'morning', thus 76 = 'morning-hungry'. 74 is not a loan char. for 75 (as has often been stated), for the char. 74 (ordinarily read  $*d'i\hat{o}g / d'ieu / t'iao)$  is here read (Shīwen)  $*ti\hat{o}g / \hat{t}i\hat{\varrho}u / c$  hou, and is loan char. for  $77 *ti\hat{o}g / \hat{t}i\hat{\varrho}u / c$  hou 'daylight' = dawn after darkness, morning. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 78. A paraphrase in an ode by Ts'ai Yung has 79, where 80 is obviously wrong for 81 'morning-hungry'. — C. Ts'i (ap. Yi lin) reads 82. Here  $83 *\hat{t}i\hat{o}g / tsi\hat{\varrho}u / c$  hou is again loan char. for the phon. similar  $77 *ti\hat{o}g$ . — D. Another school (ap. Shīwen) reads 84. Here  $85 *ti\hat{o}g / \hat{t}i\hat{\varrho}u / c$  ho u is one more loan char. for the homophonous 77. — E. Chu says: \*74, one version has 85 = 86 'heavy', thus: I am longing for him as if heavily hungry \*. The char. 85 properly means 'carriage heavy in front' (Yili), and this has given Chu his extremely far-fetched idea. — Undecidable whether the orig. Shī had  $*ti\hat{o}g$  'morning' (74, 83, 85, all for 77), as A, C, D, or \*tiog 'morning' (75), as B. The meaning is certain.

36. Wang shīju huei 87.

A. Mao: h u e i 88 (\* $\chi i w \bar{a}r / \chi j w i e / h$  u e i) = 89, thus: The royal house is as if burning. The word 88 occurs as N. Pr. in Tso. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Han shu), reads 90, defining 91 (\* $\chi m i w r / \chi j w e / h$  u e i) as = 92 'burning fire'. Shuowen quotes id., saying = 89, thus meaning same as A. No text par., but 91 = 'fire' coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — C. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 93 ( $\chi i w \bar{a}r / \chi j w e / h$  u e i): The royal house is as if going to ruin. — The rime word is 94 \* $n i \bar{a}r / n i e / h$  u e i): Makes A and C a better rime than B. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

#### Ode XI: Lin chi chi.

Chen chen kung tsi, see gl. 18.

26 句如羽喬 25 嬌 26 不可派思 25 派 26 潛行 37 行水底 25 游 37 極其游泳之樂 4 派可得 35 派之游之 26 江之永矣 57 录 27 長 27 江之漾矣 40 漾 40 菱 40 江之 美矣 40 羡保用 44 永保用 45 時有養夜養 音長 也 40 養 40 翹翹錯薪 40 翹 40 新見 20 蔞草中之翹翹然 57 予室 翹翹風雨所溧搖 22 危 25 翹足 57 翹足 57 翹足 57 翹足 57 翹足 50 翹足 50 翹足 50 翹足 50 翹足 50 型之 50 夹起之 包 57 壳 54 堤 57 高 42 高 67 聚 62 高刈 其葉 63 言采其董 46 言刈 其楚 65 怒如調飢 40 怒 60 飢 意 40 飢 60 匙 50 型 10 0 型 1

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### Ode XII: Ts'üe ch'ao.

37. Po liang ya chī 95. Mao has no direct gloss.

A. Cheng: 96 = 97 'to go to meet', thus: \*A hundred carriages meet her\*. Hence Shīwen reads 96 \* ngå / nga / y a, riming with 98 \* kio / kiwo / k ü in line 2. The 96 (ordinarily read \*ngio / ngiwo / y ü) is here loan char. for 99 \* ngå / nga / y a 'to meet, receive' (Shu, Tso etc.). Cf. Li: K'ü li 100 (\*ngå / nga / y a, Shīwen): \*A dignitary or officer should go in person to meet him\*; ode 211, phr. 1 (\*ngå, Shīwen): \*In order to go out to meet (to welcome, to invoke) the father of husbandry\*; Chuang: Chī lo 2 (\*ngå, Shīwen): \*The prince of Lu went to meét (the wonderful bird) and feasted it in the temple\*; Hanfei: Wai ch'u, yu shang 3: \*(The birds look at you with 100 eyes), you meet them with two eyes\*, etc. — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen to this ode and ap. K'ung's comm. to Shu: Mu Shī) reads 4, same meaning as A. — C. Wang Su (3rd c. A. D., ap. Shīwen) reads 95, saying 96 = 5 'to attend on, wait upon', thus: \*A hundred carriages wait upon her\*. 96 \* ngio / ngiwo / y ü 'to wait upon' is common (Tso, Kyü etc.). This would make the supposition of a loan 96 for 99 \* ngå unnecessary. — No reason to abandon the oldest tradition (A, B), which is well supported by par.

#### Ode XIII: Ts'ai fan.

38. Peichīt'ung t'ung 6. Variant 7 ap. Cheng's comm. to Li: Shê yi. 8 and 9 were frequently interchangeable.

A. Mao: t'ung t'ung 9 (\*d'ung | d'ung | t'ung, even tone) = 10 'respectfully attentive', referring not to the head-dress but to the lady. This presupposes an ellipsis: »The reverence of the head-dress » = »The reverence of the (lady in) the head-dress » = "How reverent she is her head-dress". For 9 'respectful, reverent' no direct text par.; yet cf. Li: Li k'i 11 (\*d'ung | d'ung | t u n g, falling tone): »How respectful their reverence!». Similarly Sün: Fei shī er tsī 12 'respectfully'. — B. Another school. Kuangya: t'ung t'ung 8 = 13 'ample', thus: "The ampleness of the head dress" = "How ample is her headdress. No direct text par.; yet this \*d'ung may (with Wang Sien-k'ien) be cognate to 14 \*d'ŭng / d'dng / c h' u a n g, cf. Hanfei: Ta k'i 15 'flag and c h' u a n g', the latter being a 'flag made of plumes', coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen) and synon. w. 16 'ceremonial staff with plumes' (Shī). Our t'ung t'ung would then mean (plume-bunch-like =) 'bushy, thick, ample' (with Kuangya), a good epithet of the lady's head-dress. — The construction of the line decides in favour of B: pei chī t'ung t'ung is in construction an exact par. to ode 6, phr. 17 t'ao chī yao yao: »The delicate beauty of the peach-tree» = »How delicately beautiful is the peach-tree», etc.

### **39.** Pei chī k'i k'i *18*.

A. Mao: k'i ki 19 (\*g'ier | g'ji | k'i) = 20 'leisurely', thus (with the same ellipsis as in gl. 38 above): "The leisureliness of the head-dress" = "How leisurely is (the lady in) the head-dress". For par. see below. — B. Another interpr. k'i k'i 19 = 'great', thus: "The greatness of the head-dress" = "How great is her head-dress". Cf. ode 180, phr. 21: "It (the plain) is great and very ("having" =) rich in game", to which Mao k'i 19 = 22 great' (for the curious use of yu 'having', cf. ode 170, phr. 23: "The gentleman has wine, it is good and plentiful"); this meaning is here unambiguous and certain (cf. gl. 310 below). Further: Shu: Kün ya (ap. Li: Tsī yi) 24: "In the great cold of the winter". 19 \*g'ier | g'ji | k'i 'is closely cognate to 25 \*g'iər | g'jei | k'i 'great' (Shī) (just as 26 \*kier | kji | k i 'famine' is closely akin to 27 \*kiər | kjei | k i 'famine'). — Here, as in gl. 38, the construction of the phrase (analogous to 17), decides for B. — Four more Shī phrases should be examined:

Ode 212. Hing yü k'i k'i 28. Mao (after Erya) k'i k'i 19 = 29 'slowly': "The rain rises slowly".

Ode 261. K'i k'i ju yün 30. Mao: k'i k'i 19 = 31 'slowly and sedately':  $\mathfrak{p}(The\ girls\ follow\ her)$  leisurely like a cloud  $\mathfrak{p}$ .

Ode 154. Ts'ai fan k'i ki 32. Mao: k'i k'i 19 = 33'numerous': »In crowds they gather the southernwood».

Ode 303. Lai kia k'i k'i 34. Mao no comm.; Cheng: k'i k'i 19 = 33: "They come in crowds". —

It is very unlikely that the char. 19 (properly place name) should serve as loan char. for three different \*g'ier: 'great', 'numerous' and 'slowly (leisurely)'. The word 'great' is well attested (phrases 21 and 24 above). 'Great' and 'ample, numerous' are kindred notions, and may very well be one and the same word stem. The word 'slowly' is not attested by any ex. except those stated by Mao: phrases 18, 28, 30. But in phr. 18 we have just seen that 'great' is the plausible interpr. In phr. 28 and 30, just as well as in 32 and 34 (Mao: \*g'ier = 'numerous'), the meaning 'ample, numerous' is applicable with great advantage, and we have thus only one fundamental word stem ('great: ample, numerous') for 19 as loan char. Thus: 28: •The rain rises amply · 30: \*(The girls follow her) in great number like a cloud ».

### Ode XIV: Ts'ao ch'ung.

40. Yu sin ch'ung ch'ung 35.

A. Mao: ch'ung ch'ung 36 (\*t'iông | î'iung | ch'ung) is equal to 37 (\*t'iung | î'iuong | ch'ung) ito knock against', thus: \*My grieved heart is (knocked:) agitated \*. Mao evidently thinks \*t'iông and \*t'iung are cognate words. — B. Shuowen (after Erya), quoting this ode: ch'ung 36 = 38: \*My grieved heart is grieved \*. — C. Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun) reads 39. This is a vulgar form of 40 \*d'iông | d'iung | ch'ung 'to surge', the idea being similar to A: \*My grieved heart is (surging:) agitated \*. — D. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 41 \*d'ông | d'uong | t'ung : \*My grieved heart is grieved \*. Cf. Ch'u: Kiu ko 42. — Undecidable whether 36 \*t'iông, 40 \*d'iông or 41 \*d'ông best repr. the orig. Shī.

41. Wo sin tsê yi 43.

A. Mao: y i 44 = 45 'level, even, tranquil', thus: \*My heart is at peace \*. Y i in this sense common, sometimes wr. 46 (Lao 47: \*The great Way is very even \*). — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) y i 44 = 48 'pleased, glad' (cf. Erya 49): \*My heart is glad \*. Cf. ode 90, phr. 50: \*Why should I not be glad \*, to which Mao (after Erya) y i = 51. — B is merely an extension of meaning: even, calm > at ease > happy, pleased. Cf. Shu: Yao tien 52: \*Its people is (even:) at ease \*.

室如毁4遍55百两御之5个御7户27居95还加大夫士以自御之1以御田祖2.曹侯御而騰之於廟3子以二目御之4百兩迓之5侍6被之僮僮2章童•童•童•僮为嬢敬水洞洞乎其敬也及洞然12盛4幢5旗幢水翻7株之夭夭及被之祁祁月都20舒迟24其祁孔有22大双名子有酒台且有24冬祁寒25.何24饥27毁29卿雨祁祁25俟30祁柳35夏心忡忡3种35夏心忡忡3种35夏少夏心冲冲4冲1夏心慢幽公朔心慢幽公我心则夷4夷公平4德公大道其德公喜4寿2

42. Yü yi siang chī 53.

A. Mao: s i a n g 54 (siang / siang / s i a n g) = 55 'to boil', thus: "She goes to boil it". No text par. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Han shu) reads 56, same meaning. This 57 \*siang / siang / s h a n g 'to boil' is common in Yin bone and Chou bronze inscr. (BMFEA 12, p. 314). — B is better supported by par.

#### Ode XV: Ts'ai p'in.

**43.** Shuei k'i shī chī *58.* 

A. Mao (after Erya) s h  $\bar{\imath}$  59 = 60 'master', thus: »Who is presiding over it» (the sacrifice). Cf. Tso: Siang 27, phr. 61 'to preside over a covenant'. — **B.** Another interpr.: Erya and Shuowen s h  $\bar{\imath}$  59 = 62 'to expose, set forth, display', thus: »Who is setting them torth» (the aforesaid sacrificial gifts). Cf. ode 185, phr. 63: »There are mothers who set forth food», to which Mao 59 = 62 (Chu, here again, takes 59 = 60: »There are mothers who preside over the cooking», which is bad, since s h  $\bar{\imath}$  in the sense of 'to preside over' is a solemn word, of sacral purport); Li: Kiao t'ê sheng 64: »S h  $\bar{\imath}$  means to set forth, display»; Tso: Chuang 4, phr. 65: »King Wu of Ch'u in »King» fashion set forth, arranged (his troops)», etc. (common). — B is confirmed by the parallelism in the st.: to 66 'set them forth' in line 1 corresponds 67 'set them forth' in line 3.

A. Mao: c h a i 69 (\*tser | tṣāi | c h a i) = 70, thus: The reverent young girl. 69 = 71 'to purify oneself' for a sacrificial function, hence 'purified, reverent' is common (Li passim). — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 72, this 73 \*dz'iar | dz'iei | ts' i (Ts'ie yün) defined as = 74 'beautiful' in Kuangya and 75 'talented' in Shuowen, thus: The beautiful (or: talented) young girl. No text par. — Since the whole st. describes a sacrificial ceremony, A is clearly preferable.

### Ode XVI: Kan t'ang.

45. Pifeikan t'ang 76. Han (ap. Waichuan) reads 77.

A. Mao (after Erya) p i f e i 78 = 79 'small': »Small is that sweet pear-tree». For the binome pi-fei, no text par., nor for pi. As to 80 (\*piwad / piwei / fei), in the Han variant 81 (same reading), cf. ode 252, phr. 82, to which Mao: 81 (\*piwod / pjwgi / fei) = 79 'small', thus: "With small happiness you shall be at peace"; this is unreasonable, and since Lu (ap. Kuo P'o, comm. to Erya 83) reads 84, Cheng follows Lu and thinks the Mao version 80 is here a loan char. for 86 \* piwat / piuat / f u = 'happiness',thus: »In happiness and felicity you shall be at peace», which is obviously right (86 properly means 'to expel bad influences, to purify', hence 'purified, auspicious', coll. current in the sense of 'happiness' in W. Han time, Fang yen). So there is no text par. for 81 ='small'. — B. Chu: pi fei 78 = 87 'ample, luxuriant': Luxuriant is that sweet pear-tree. For the binome, no text par. For 88, cf. Tso: Chao 18, phr. 89: »A cover (screen) outside the wall». For 80, cf. ode 57, phr. 90 (\*piwat / piwat / f u) 'a screen of pheasant feathers'; for 81, cf. Kyü: Chou yü 91 (\*p'iwət / p'iuət / f u): "The road is dense (overgrown) and not passable »; Yi: Kua 63, phr. 92 (\*piwət | piuət | f u): »The woman loses her head-covering, etc. \*piwəd: \*piwət: \*p'iwət are variations of the same stem. Thus the meaning of 'to cover, covering, dense, umbrageous, luxuriant' is well supported. — B is better substantiated than A. **46.** Wu tsien wu fa 93.

A. Mao: t s i e n 94 (\*t s i e n / t s i e n = 95 'to eliminate', cf. Erya: t s i e n = 96 'to nivellate'. T s i e n 95 = 'to cut off, destroy' is common. — B. Han (ap. Shïwen) reads  $97 *t s \ddot{a} n / t \ddot{a} n / c h$  'a n 'to plane, nivellate, destroy'. Text par. in Lü: K'üan hün, Ts'ê: Ts'i 1, etc. — Undecidable whether \*t s i e n / t s i e n = 95 'to eliminate', cf. Erya: t s i e n = 95 'to eli

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47. Wu tsien wu pai 98.

A. Mao no gloss, therefore taking pai 99 in its ordinary sense of 'to bow', here = 'to bend': \*Do not cut it down, do not bend it \*. So also Chu. — B. Cheng thinks 99 \* $pw\bar{a}d \mid pw\bar{a}i \mid p$  a i is loan char. for 100 \* $b'w\hat{a}d \mid b'w\hat{a}i \mid p$  e i 'to pull up' (as in ode 237, phr. 1), thus: \*Do not cut it down, do not uproot it \*. No text par. — C. Another school (ap. Ts'ie yün, quoting this ode) reads 2. This 3 \* $pw\bar{a}d \mid pw\bar{a}i \mid p$  a i = 4 'to cleave, split' (so the Ts'ie yün ms. in Shī yün huei pien; Kuang yün has corrupted 4 into 100), cf. Kuangya 3 = 4; thus: \*Do not cut it down, do not split it \*. No text par. — No reason to abandon A.

Shao po so shuei, see gl. 168.

### Ode XVII: Hing lu.

**48.** Ye yi hing lu 5.

A. Mao: y e y i 6 = 7 'the idea of moisture', thus: »Moist is the dew on the road». No text par. The 8 \* ipp / ipp / y i (Shuowen = 'moist') may be of the same stem as 9 \* ipp / ipp / y i 'to ladle, bale, pour' (Shī) (indeed, Shīwen records var. 9 for 8). Shīwen reads 10 \* ipp / ipp / ipp / y e, but says other early comm. read ipp / ipp / ipp / y i (thus reading 6 \* ipp - ipp) or ipm / ipm / y e n (thus 6 \* ipm - ipp). This latter is the ordinary reading of 10 'satiated'. Was the meaning and reading, after all, this ipm / ipm /

### Ode XVIII: Kao yang.

49. We i y i we i y i 15. Shīwen and Ts'ie yün read \*'iwăr | 'jwig | we i and \*dia | ig | y i, thus the binome \*'iwăr - dia. A. Mao: we i y i 16 = 17 'in going (acting), able to follow in the tracks', i. e. 'compliant', thus: »(The high officers), very compliant» (retire from court for their meal). This builds on Tso: Siang 7, which quotes this ode, adding 18: »We i y i speaks of those who are obedient (compliant)», to which Tu Yü (3rd c. A. D): we i y i 16 = 19 'compliant'. Cheng paraphrases this idea (cf. ode 47 below): 20 'bending (pliable) and contented' (Legge: tsī tê = 'self-possessed' misses Cheng's idea here). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads we i y i 21 = 22, thus: »(The high officers) loyal and correct» (retire etc.). We must compare:

Ode 47. We i we i t'o t'o 23. Shīwen and Kuangyün read \*'iwăr | 'jwig | we i and \*d'â | d'â | t'o, thus the binome \*'iwăr-d'â, not identical with the preceding \*'iwăr-dia, but closely cognate. A. Mao: we i we i 24 = 25 'in going (acting), able to bend (be pliable) and follow in the tracks'; t'o t'o 26 = 27 'the virtue (character) being peaceable', thus: \*She (the lady) is very compliant\*. Similarly Han (ap. Shīwen) we i - t'o = 'the virtue (character) being beautiful' (Chung king yin yi records the var. 29). — B. Lu. Erya has an entry 30, which must refer to this ode, thus: \*She (the lady) is very beautiful\*. One Erya version reads 31, in which 32 is a fault for 33 \*'iãr | ig | y i 'beautiful', cf. Ts'ê: Ch'u 4, phr. 34 'beautiful cloth'. —

Wei 35 means 'to bend', e. g. Li: T'an Kung 36 'tortuous lane'. Both 37 \*dia / ie / v i and 38 \* $d'\hat{a}/d'\hat{a}/t$ ' o are cognate to (variations of the same stem as) 37 \*d'ia/dz'ia/dz's h ê 'serpent', both meaning 'to serpentine, to bend', cf. Shu: Yü Kung 39 'bending to the East'. The binomes wei yi and wei t'o thus fundamentally mean 'to bend and serpentine'. Cf. Huai: T'ai tsu 40: "The river, by serpentining (meandering) can reach far away»; Ch'u: Kiu ko 41: »I carry the cloud banner, it (serpentines, bends to and fro:) waves»; Ch'u: Yüan yu 42: »The body wriggles and bends»; Ch'u: Kiu chang 43: When will the rushing hither and thither stop (44 \*dia / ie / y i here = 37). By extension of meaning wei yi and wei t'o = 'bending, pliable > compliant, peaceable, contented', cf. Chuang: Ying ti wang 45: »Together with him I was empty and compliant» (Shiwen: wei yi = 46 'very compliant'; Lie: Huang ti reads the same line 47 \* ia-dia, another binome kindred to our \* iwar-dia); Chuang: Chi lo 48: »To live (compliantly:) contentedly »; Chuang: Keng sang ch'u 49: »To (bend:) comply with the things and follow their flow. — For interpr. B in our phr. 15 above ('loyal and correct') there is no support whatever. For interpr. B in phr. 23 ('beautiful') there is a weak support in the Erya variant 50, since 51 means 'beautiful'. Yet interpr. A in both odes: phr. 15: the officers are compliant (peaceably contented), phr. 23: the lady is compliant (mild and peaceable), is amply confirmed by early text par. **50.** Su sī wu yü *52*.

A. Mao (after Erya): y "" u 53 (\*giwak / jiwak / y "", Shīwen and Kuang y"", or \*xiwak / xiwak / h "", Ts'ie y "" n) = 'seam', thus: "White silk, five seams". Shuowen has 55, same reading and meaning. No text par. — B. Han (ap. Y"" p'ien): y "" <math>u 53 = 56 'a number', thus: "White silk, five y "" - bundles". —

In st. 1 we have: 57, to which Mao: t'o 58 = 56 'a number'; Han (ap. comm. to Hou Han shu): t'o 58 = 59 'name of a number', thus: "White silk, five t'o -bundles". In st. 3, we have 60, to which Mao: tsung 61 = 56 'a number', thus: "White silk, five tsung -bundles". The Si king tsaki, as quoted by Pei ya, says (a bundle of) 20 threads is called yü (53), 80 threads tsung (62 = 61). T'o therefore is certainly also a certain number of threads combined (into a tress?). If Mao, in st. 2, has abandoned the "number" idea, which he adopts in st. 1 and 3, it is because of the Erya gloss. This, however, need not invalidate the "number" explanation, for probably silk tresses of so and so many threads (t'o: yü: tsung) were placed over the seams to conceal and adorn them.

### Ode XIX: Yin k'i lei.

### **51.** Yin k'i lei *63*.

A. Mao: y in 64 (\*· $i \neq n$ ) = 65 'the sound of thunder', thus: \*· $i \neq n$  sounds the thunder \*. Variants 66 (\*· $i \neq n$ ). — B. Han (ap. Ts'ie yün) reads 67. Ts'ie yün  $68 * t i w \Rightarrow r / t wi / c$  h u e i = 69 'thunder', after Kuangya. — \*· $i \Rightarrow n$  and \* $t i w \Rightarrow r$  are evidently two synon. words for the sound of thunder. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

Chen chen kün tsi, see gl. 18.

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### Ode XX: Piao yu mei.

52. St. 1. Tai k'i ki hi 70.

St. 2. Tai k'i kin hi 71.

St. 3. Tai k'i wei chī 72.

Tai 迨. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: tai 73 = 74 'to come to, reach, attain', paraphrasing 75: 'they ought to attain the good time' (sc. for wooing), thus: st. 1. \*(The gentlemen who seek me) should attain the auspicious time \*; st. 2. \*They should attain the present time \*; st. 3. \*They should attain my being eager about it \* (for this latter, see we i below). For tai 73 = 74 (so also Mao to odes 34, 155), cf. Kung-yang: Hi 22, phr. 76: \*I beg that, attaining (the time of) their not yet having all passed the river, we beat them \*. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): tai 73 = 77 'I wish that, would that', thus taking tai 'to come to' as an optative: adveniat, may it come to (the point that), may it arrive that', thus: st. 1. \*May it come to its being auspicious \*; st. 2. \*May it come to its being now \*; st. 3. \*May it come to their speaking it \* (sc. the proposal of marriage). — Since the lines obviously express a wish, as universally recognized, B is decidedly preferable.

Wei 謂. Mao has no direct gloss.

A. Lu (ap. Erya, with Kuo P'o's comm., quoting this ode) we i 78 = 79 'to toil, to be eager, zealous'. Cheng follows this, expounding it further: when a girl is 20 and there has been no preliminaries of marriage, she has the anxiety of zealous longing, and then, without waiting for the proper rites, they achieve it by simple meeting wards. Thus: They (the wooers) should attain my being eager about it and to There are two more odes where Cheng has 78 = 79. Ode 40, phr. 81: why should I toil for it be unthere the ordinary sense of we i is simple and plausible: what then shall I say wards. Ode 228, phr. 82: which is far away, should I not be (zealous) anxious about him was there again we i (with Chu) has its ordinary meaning: why should I not tell it wards. (83 \*g'à | ya | h i a, in Li: Piao ki quoted 84 \*g'à | ya | h i a, is loan char. for 85 \*g'o | yuo | h u 'why'). So interpr. A. in our ode 20 really lacks text support. — B. we i 78 has its ordinary meaning (as stated under tai above): way it come to their speaking it (the proposal of marriage). — B is simple and plausible.

#### Ode XXI: Siao sing.

53. Huei pi siao sing 86.

A. Mao: h u e i 87 = 88 'small', thus: \*Small are those little stars\*. In ode 258, phr. 89, Mao says: h u e i 87 = 90 'the appearance of the many stars'. This is not an inconsistency of Mao's, for here \*the many stars\* refers to the small stars as opp. to the more remarkable bigger stars, which have their special names. Thus, phr. 89: \*Small are the stars\*. No text par. Ts'ie yün 91 = 'small stars' is evidently the correct graph, and 87 ('to chirp', Shī, rad. 'mouth') is loan char. — B. Chu to ode 258: h u e i 87 = 92, thus: \*Bright are the stars\*. (Here in ode 21 he repeats Mao's 'small.'). No text. par. — No reason to abandon Mao.

54. Su su siao cheng 93.

A. Mao (after Erya): su su 94 = 95, thus: \*Hurriedly we walk in the night\*. Cf. Kyü: Ts'i yü 96: \*The father's and elder brother's teaching is not quickly achieved \*; Kyü: Tsin yü 97: \*Clever and quick-witted \*. — B. Wang Nien-sun: su su 94 = 98, thus: \*Respectfully we walk in the night \*. — No reason to abandon the earliest tradition, A, which is well supported by par.

55. Pao k'in yü ch'ou 99.

A. Mao: k'in 100 = 1 'coverlet', ch'ou 2 = 3 'unlined coverlet', thus: \*We carry in our arms the coverlet and (single coverlet =) sheet \*. For 2 in this sense, no text par. Shïwen reads 2 alt. \* $d'i\hat{o}g / d'i\hat{o}u / c$  h'ou and \* $t\hat{o}g / t\hat{a}u / t$  a o. — B. Cheng: ch'ou 2 = 4 'bed curtain', thus: \*We carry in our arms the coverlet and bed curtain \*. No text par. To Erya 5: 'a ch'ou is called chang curtain' Shïwen says:  $6 (*d'i\hat{o}g / d'i\hat{o}u / ch'ou)$ , originally wr. 7; clearly Cheng has known the variant 7 for 6, and taken our 2 to be loan char. for this  $6-7 *d'i\hat{o}g - C$ . Ma Juei-ch'en:  $2 *t\hat{o}g / t\hat{a}u / t$  a o = 8, Shuowen = 9 'short garment'. The ti-tao (coll. current in W. Han time, Fang yen) was a short chemise, a short tunic worn next to the body; thus: \*We carry in our arms the coverlet and the (night) chemise\*. Cf. Ch'u: Kiu pien 10: \*I wear the bright tunic made of lotus stuff\*. — C alone is supported by an early text par. and hence preferable.

### Ode XXII: Kiang yu sī.

**56.** Kiang yu sī *11*.

A. Mao (after Erya): s  $\bar{i}$  12 = 13 '(a stream) breaking out (from the principal stream) and again joining it is a s  $\bar{i}$ ', thus: \*The Kiang has branches breaking out and reverting. No text par. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 14, the last w. = 'name of a river', thus: \*The Kiang has the S $\bar{i}$  (as an affluent)\*. No text par. — The parallelism with st. 2 and 3 decides in favour of A.

**57.** Kiang yu chu 15.

A. Mao (after Erya): c h u 16 = 17 'a small island', thus: "The Kiang has its islands". Cf. Tso: Wen 10, phr. 18: "The king was in his island palace". — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) 19 'one moment submerged, one moment not is called c h u', i. e. an islet so low as to be sometimes below water. — A is well supported by par. and preferable.

58. K'i siao ye ko 20. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: s i a o 21 = 22 'to compress the mouth and emit sound', i. e. 'to whistle', thus: »(When she whistles she sings =) she whistles and sings». Cf. Li: Nei tsê 23: »He does not whistle, nor point with the finger». — B. Han (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) 24 'to sing without stanzas or (fixed) melody is called s i a o', i. e. 'to croon', thus: »(When she croons she sings =) crooningly she sings». Cf. Ch'u: Chao hun 25: »Long-drawn I (croon:) wail» (Chu Hi: s i a o h u = 26 'to wail'); Huai: T'ien wen 27: »When the tiger wails (howls), the k u f e n g wind comes»; Huai: Lan ming 28: »The yellow

spirit wails and moans \* (in these ex. 'to whistle' is excluded). — S i a o 21 thus can mean both 'to whistle' and 'to croon, to wail'. The parallelism of the stanzas decides clearly for B. The lady was unwilling to accept the concubines, but had to give in: St. 1: 29: "She would not take us, but afterwards she had to repent \*; st. 2: 30: "She would not associate with us, but afterwards she had to live with (us) \*; st. 3: 31: "She would not pass us on, but (now) crooningly (wailingly) she sings \* (she can do nothing but wail and resign herself to it). — There are two more odes where s i a o has this meaning, not of 'to whistle' but of 'to croon, to wail':

Ode 229. Siao ko shang huai 32: »I crooningly sing with a grieved heart». Ode 69. T'iao k'i siao ye 33: »Long-drawn is her crooning».

## Ode XXIII: Ye yu sî kün.

59. Po mao tun shu 34.

A. Mao: tun 35 (Shīwen \*d'wən | d'uən | tun, rising tone) = 36, thus: •With white grass one wrapped and bound it •. Cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in 37: »Brocade, one thousand bundles». — B. Cheng: 35 read like 38 (Shīwen \*d'wən | d'uən | t'un, even tone = 39 'to collect'), thus: •With white grass one has heaped and bound round it ». Cf. Lie: Mu wang 40: »Like heaped clouds ». — No reason to abandon A. 60. Shu er t'uei t'uei hi 41.

A. Mao: t'uei t'uei 42 (\*t'wâd | t'uâi | t'uei) = 'comfortably and slowly, leisurely', thus: \*Slowly! Take it easy! . Cf. Huai: Tsing shen 44: \*(Having found shade under a tree) he feels (leisurely:) comfortable and is pleased \*. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 42 is loan char. for 45 (\*t'wâd | t'uâi | t'uei), for which Fang yen (W. Han coll.), foll. by Shuowen, says = 46 'beautiful' (in Fang yen synon. w. 47). Acc. to Ma, shu 48 is a mere particle, and t'uei t'uei refers to the gentleman: \*Oh, how beautiful \*. — No reason whatever to abandon A.

## Ode XXIV: Ho pi nung yi.

61. Hopinung (jung) yi 49.

A. Mao. 50 is the Mao school graph as quoted in Yülan, Po t'ie and comm. to Wsüan. The current editions have 51, a corr. after Shuowen, where this ode is so quoted. The latter ('thick dress') is a loan char. Both char. read alt. \*niung | niwong | n u n g (Ts'ie yün) and \*niung | niiwong | j u n g (Ts'ie yün, Shīwen). Mao: 52 »n u n g (j u n g) is equivalent to 53 j u n g j u n g» (\*niông | niiung | j u n g). J u n g 53 means 'great' (e. g. Shu: P'an Keng). Thus: "How those are great" (the flowers of the t'ang-ti tree).

見刀肅肅育证《肅公疾》父兄之教不肅而成刀聰敵肅給級敬,抱金與稠加象工被及稠、禪被《牀帳公憐謂之帳《憐》惘。抵調,短衣力被荷酮之晏晏兮川江有汜及汜刀決復入為汜母江有涯が江有渚《潜刀小洲》王在潜宫月一溢一否曰渚以其嘴也歌以嘯及蹙口而出聲以不嘯不指以歌無章曲曰嘯以永嘯呼些以喚不虎嘯而谷風至四黃神嘯吟以不我以其後也悔如不我與其後也處以不我過其嘯也歌或嘴歌傷懷以條其歡也以白芋紅東於紅鬼之又綿繡千純九也以聚如苦屯雲如舒而脫脫兮々脫紅舒運任則脫然而喜於稅私好欠姚切舒如何彼穩矣如穩以機

50 is obviously the same stem as 54 \*niung | niwong | n u n g 'thick, rich' (sc. dew, Shī), and as 55 \*niung | niwong | n u n g 'thick, rich' (sc. drink, Shī) and 'thick' (sc. fog, Hanfei: Nan shī), the fundamental sense being 'great, ample, rich'. It is also etym. same stem as 56 \*niung | niiwong | j u n g, see gl. 105. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 57. This 58 (\*niing | niiwong | j u n g) is a graph that is interchangeable with 53 (Erya 59 'great bean' = Yi Chou shu: Wang huei 60 = Lie: Li ming 61); thus meaning same as A: "How those are great". — Undecidable whether 50 \*niung, niung or 58 (53) \*niing best repr. the orig. Shī.

### Ode XXV: Tsou yû.

62. St. 1. Yi fa wu pa 62.

A. Mao (after Erya): p a 63 = 64 'the female of the pig', thus: »With one shot, five sows». — B. Cheng Chung (1st. c. A. D. ap. comm. to Chouli): p a 63 = 'a two years old pig'. — C. Shīwen (ap. comm. to Li: Shê yi): p a 63 = 'a one year old pig'. — D. Chu: p a 63 = 'the male of the pig'. — D is an arbitrary guess, contrary to all ancient schools (possibly a speculation that it was not »benevolent» to kill the females?). Shuowen adduces alternatively A and B, adding the scholastic etym. speculation that 65 »they are able to seize each other» (66).

St. 2. Yi fa wu tsung 67.

A. Mao:  $t \le u \le 68 = a$  one year old pig', thus: "With one shot, five one year old pigs". — B. Erya: 69 'when a pig bears 3 young ones, it is a  $t \le u \le 70$ : 'when a dog bears 3 young ones, it is a  $t \le u \le 70$ . Shuowen:  $t \le u \le 70$  pig which has lived 6 months'. —

There are no points d'appui whatever for choosing between these diverging definitions of pa and tsung.

63. Hü tsie hu tsou yü 71.

A. Mao: tsou yü 72 = 'a righteous animal, being a white tiger with black streaks, who does not eat living things', thus: »Oh! the tsou-yü-tiger!». Earliest ex. of this meaning in Huai: Tao ying; Shan hai king 12 (a Han time section of that work) has 73; Shang shu ta chuan has 74 alone in this sense. — B. Lu (ap. Sin shu): tsou 75 = 'the prince's park', yü 74 = 'the keeper of the beasts in the park'. Thus: »Lo, you park gamester(s)!». For tsou in this sense no text par. — C. Han (ap. Kia Kung-yen comm. to Chouli): tsou yü 72 = 'the king's officer(s) managing the birds and beasts'. Tsou 75 = 'keeper of horses', see Li, Chouli, Ts'ê etc. (common); yü 74 = 'forester, gamester', see Shu etc. (common). For the two coördinated, cf. Shang-tsī: Kin shī 76: »Horse-keeper and game-keeper cannot control each other». Thus, our ode line: »Lo, you grooms and gamesters!». The Ts'i school has the same idea of this ode: Li: Shê yi 77: »The ode Tsou yü expressed joy that the officers are there complete». — A does not suit the context: why should a hunter who slays five pigs with one stroke be likened to a »righteous animal (78) who does not eat living things»? C is best supported, and forms an excellent final line in a hunting song.

#### Ode XXVI: Po chou.

64. Keng keng pu mei 79.

A. Mao: k e n g k e n g 80 (\*kěng | keng | k e n g) = 81. The latter (\*kièng | kiàng | k i n g) means 'to warn, admonish', also 'on the alert, attentive, apprehensive'. Thus: "I am apprehensive and do not sleep". Mao takes 80 \*kěng, which properly means 'bright' (Shu, Kyü etc.), to be loan char. for 81 \*kièng, or at least for a \*kěng of the same meaning, cognate to \*kièng. No text par. — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 82. For this 83 \*kiweng | kiweng | ki u n g, Shuowen = 'bright', cf. a lost ode ap. Tso: Siang

5, phr. 84: \*My heart is bright (perspicacious)\*, where 85 \*kiweng | kiweng | ki u n g is loan char. for this 83. Thus, our ode line: \*I am (bright =) wide awake and do not sleep\*. — C. Chu: keng keng 80 = 86 'small brightness, the appearance of grief', thus: \*I am (little perspicacious =) troubled in my mind and do not sleep\*; a ridiculous gloss. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: keng keng 80 = 'flaming, burning', thus: \*I am burning (by grief) and do not sleep\*. Ma reminds that various words meaning 'to burn' are used by extension of meaning = 'to grieve' in the Shī (87). But though 80 often means 'bright', there are no ex. of its meaning 'to burn'. — Whether the orig. Shī had 80 \*këng or 83 \*kiweng 'bright' is undecidable. The meaning was, in any case, that of B (the metaphor 'darkness' = 'sleep' is common in classical Chinese).

65. Ju yu yin yu 88.

A. Mao: yin 89 = 90 'pained'. Similarly Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) yin 89 = 91 'grieved'; thus: \*As if I had a painful grief\*. Yin = 'grieved' common (Tso, Li, Kyü, Meng). — B. Another school (ap. comm. to Lü) says yin 89 = 92 'dark', thus: \*As if I had a hidden grief\*. Yin in this sense common. — C. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 93, defining 94 = 95 'deep', thus: \*As if I had a deep grief\*. Similarly Ts'i (ap. Yi lin) paraphrases it by 96 'great grief'. 94 = 'great' common (Shu etc.). — A is preferable, 89 or 94, both \*\*iən / iən / yin, being synon. w. 91; cf. ode 40, phr. 97 (to which Erya: yin yin 94 = 91), which is read 98 in Lu (comm. to Ch'u). The words recurs wr. 99 in odes 192, 257.

66. Pu k'o yi ju 100.

A. Mao (after Erya): j u  $1 = t \circ 2$  'to measure, to examine, scrutinize', thus: \*(My heart is not a mirror), you cannot scrutinize it. Cf. ode 276, phr. 3: »Come and deliberate on them, come and scrutinize them, (sc. the laws); ode 177, phr. 4: The Hien yun did not calculate. This ju 1 is really only a loan clar. for 5 'to adjust' as in Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 6: »He adjusted the five instruments»; therefore also Erya ju 5=7 'to deliberate upon'. Cheng and Chu, while accepting Mao's ju 1= to 2, construe 'mirror' as the understood subject of the clause: \*(My heart is not a mirror), it cannot (measure =) scrutinize (things)». This is excluded by the parallelism. To the \*you cannot scrutinize it \* here corresponds later: \*(There are brothers but) 8 you cannot rely on them »; further: »(My heart is not a stone), 9 you cannot turn it »; »(my heart is not a mat), 10 you cannot roll it. — B. Han (ap. Wai chuan): ju 1 = 11 'to take in and hold, receive, contain' (an extension of meaning of I = 'to swallow', this latter common), thus: »(My heart is not a mirror), it cannot (swallow =) hold» (sc. whatever is impressed upon it). Since the parallelism with other lines (8, 9, 10) shows that 'mirror' cannot be the subject of the clause but is the object (see above), this interpr. is unacceptable. — A is well supported and plausible.

67. Wei vi tai tai 12. Shīwen: variant 13.

A. Mao: t a i ta i 14 (Shīwen \*d'əd / d' $\dot{a}i$  / ta i or \*d'iəd / d' $\dot{a}i$  / ti) = 15 'rich and (well-trained =) perfected', thus: •My dignified demeanour has been perfect •. Similarly Lu (ap. Sin shu) ta i ta i 14 = 16 'rich'. Ts'i (ap. Li: K'ung tsī hien kü) quotes 13. Indeed, 14 is but a loan char. for ta i 17 'to reach' (common), and just as 18 'to reach' may mean 'to the highest degree' (Tso: Siang 29, phr. 19 'great to the utmost point, great to perfection'), so 17 (14) here means properly: (my demeanour has been) 'reaching the highest point, perfected'. — B. Cheng (ap. comm. to Li: K'ung tsī hien kü): ta i ta i (t i ti) 13 = 20 'peaceful and harmonious', thus: •My dignified demeanour has been peaceful •. No text par. — A, an application of the fundamental sense of 17, is clearly preferable.

68. Pu k'o süan ye 21.

A. Mao: p u k'o s ü a n = 22 'not possible to count, immeasurable', thus: \*(My dignified demeanour has been perfect) it cannot be (counted:) measured. Similarly Lu (ap. Sin shu): p u k'o s ü a n = 23 'so much that it cannot be counted', and further (ibid.): 24: \*p u k'o s ü a n means 'plenty' \*. Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 25: \*In generations they have counted your merits \* (Shīwen \*siwan / siwan / s ü a n and \*swân / suân / s u a n); ode 179, phr. 26: \*Counting the men \*. 27 \*siwan is cognate to 28 \*swân / suân / s u a n 'to count'. — B. Chu: s ü a n 27 = 'to pick out', i. e. 'to find defiencies in', thus: \*(My dignified demeanour has been perfect), it cannot be (picked out =) found fault with \*. Cf. Tso: Chao 1, phr. 30: \*I am afraid you will be found fault with \*. But here again s ü a n 27 has not (with Chu) the sense of 'to pick out', but means 'to count', cf. Tu Yü who comments: 31 'to enumerate the faults'. (It should be emphasized, that when Mao, A above, defines 27 as = 32, it is not in the sense of 33 'to enumerate the faults', as clearly shown by the parallel but fuller Lu school glosses). — No reason to abandon A, which is well supported.

69. Hu tie er wei 34.

Wei 'small, to become small' is here = 'to be eclipsed', cf. ode 193 phr. 35: "The moon is eclipsed."

A. Mao (having no gloss) writes 36 \*d'iet | d'iet | t i e 'to alternate, in turns, from time to time' thus: \*Why are you eclipsed from time to time\*. Cf. Tso: Chao 17, phr. 37: \*They all in turns responded \*; Li: Yüe ki 38: \*The pure (notes) and the dark (notes) alternatingly regulate each other \* (succeed one another at regular intervals). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 39 or 40, also (Shīwen) read \*d'iet | d'iet | t i e, defined as = 41 'constantly, regularly', thus: \*Why are you regularly eclipsed (at regular intervals) \*. The general meaning comes near to A, but the etym. of the \*d'iet is quite different (A 'alternate': B 'constant'). — We should compare:

Ode 198. Chī chī ta yu 42. A. Mao reads so: \*Well-ordered are the great plans. 43 \*d'iĕt / d'iēt / chī = 'order, regular' (common). — B. Shuowen says: \*44 = 45 'great', read like the 46 of the ode \* (\*d'iet / d'iet / tie). Thus Shuowen gives no definition of the meaning in the ode line, but later Shī comm. think 44 \*d'iet must be synon. and cognate to the 43 \*d'iĕt 'order, regular' of the Mao version. — This B (Shuowen) version in ode 198 would then support the B (Han) version in our ode above. — A in both odes is much better supported by text par.

## Ode XXVIII: Yen yen.

70. Ts'ï ch'ï k'i yü 47.

A. Mao: »When the swallow flies, she must t s i c h i her wings», which gives no real defin. of the binome. Cheng expounds: 48 to spread out her tail and wings. No text par. — B. Chu: t s i c h i 49 = 50 of different length, uneven, thus: •Uneven

(-looking) are her wings. For the binome, cf. Tso: Siang 22 phr. 51: »How dare I (be uneven =) differ from you, to which Tu Yü: ts'ī ch'ī = 52. For 53 \*ts'ia / ts'ia/ ts'ī, cf. ode l, phr. 54: »Uneven (of unequal length) are the hing plants»; Chuang: Ts'iu shuei 55: »Differing from, diverging from the Tao»; Chuang: T'ien hia 56: »Though his words are disparate (heterogeneous)»; Ch'u: Kiu ko 57: »I blow the flute» (with pipes of graduated length); Sün: Cheng ming 58 'uneven'. For 59 \*d'ia / d'ig / c h ' ī cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in 60 (\*d'ia / d'ie / ch'i): »A different (separate) gate». — B is well supported and preferable.

**71.** Hie chī hang chī *61*.

A. Mao: 62 'to fly upwards is called hie (\*g'iet /  $\gamma$ iet / hie), to fly downwards is called hang (\*g'ang | yang | hang)', thus: »It (the swallow) flies upwards, it flies downwards ». Similarly Ts'i (ap. Yi lin) paraphrases the line 63: »It hie hang up and down». Tuan Yü-ts'ai and followers think Mao's gloss has been erroneously inverted (hie = to fly down, hang = to fly up), but Ts'i confirms that the Mao gloss has been correctly handed down. No text par. — B. Shuowen: hie 64 = 65 'to straighten the neck'. (66 is considered by Shuowen as a variant of 67, but:)  $68 *g'\hat{a}ng / \gamma \hat{a}ng / \gamma \hat{a}ng$ h a n g = 'to straighten the neck' — very likely this refers to our ode, Hü Shen having had a version reading 69; thus: "It (the swallow) straightens its neck, it stretches its neck." (in flying). Cf. Huai: Siu wu 70: »Those who walk with a (proudly) stretched neck». 71 \* $k\hat{a}ng / k\hat{a}ng / k$  ang 'neck' and 72 \* $g'\hat{a}ng / \gamma\hat{a}ng / h$  ang 'to stretch the neck' are cognate words. — B alone having an early text par., and moreover, for hang, having the support of etymology, is preferable.

72. Chung shī jen chī 73.

A. Mao: j e n 74 = 75, thus: "The lady Chung is great". No text par. Mao seems to take it to be a loan char. for 76, cf. ode 220, phr. 77: "They (the rites) are great, they are (forest-like:) numerous, to which Mao (after Erya) 78, and (again after Erya) 79 = 80 (for 81). (Cheng here takes Erya's 79 = 80 to mean 'prince' and 76 = 74, thus: »At the rites, there are jen officials and there is lin the prince», which is a decidedly inferior interpr.). If 76 and 74 are to mean 'great', it is as an extension of meaning of the fundamental sense 'weight, weighty, ponderous'. — B. Cheng: je n 74 = 82 'lovingly to trust', thus: "The lady Chung is faithful". Cf. Lun: Yang huo 83: »If you are true, people will rely on (have faith in) you ». — C. Wei Yüan: jen 74 = the personal name, thus: The lady Chung Jen. Cf. ode 236, phr. 84: The lady Chung Jen of Chi (so Mao and all others). — That the present ode is connected, by the early schools, with various ladies, but none of them any lady Chung Jen, of course proves nothing. C. has a good par. and is preferable.

也仅不可卷也以容及威義棣棣以速速从棣心富而閑習从富四建办至《大之至》 安和之兒以不可選也以不可數以多不可為數以不可選象也如世選爾勞以選後以 選租算《揀擇》(瞿選》)數其罪以數 53.數罪 34胡迭而微 55彼月而微 56迭 52 皆迭對 双清濁迭相為經內胡或如胡戴如常《微轶大猷《秋如戴《大如戴戴大猷《差池 其羽《張舒其尾翼《差池》不齊之兒》何敢差池又不齊曰差刃分差荇菜公與道 备差 x 其辭雖 备差 xx 吹客差 xx 差差然 xx 池 a 誃門 a 頡之 i 直之 a 飛而 上曰頡飛而 下日祖《胡旭上下《胡《酒项《旭《九《梵《胡之毵之》胡旭之行者》九《旭 **越**73仲氏任只24任25大水主双有主有林双壬大 95林20名 81章 82以恩相親信85信

73. K'i sin sê yüan 85.

A. Mao:  $86 * s_2 k / s_2 k / s$  ê = 87. This 87 'sacrifice by burying' makes no sense and is (with Chu Tsün-sheng) loan char. for 88, which in Han texts means 'quiet, still', thus: »Her (heart:) mind is still and deep». 86 = 89 'quiet, still' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). It is an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense of 'to block, to stop': 'stopped, brought to a standstill', cf. Kuan: Kün ch'en, hia 90: "They (the people) are honest and easy to manage, they are simple and easy to keep quiet (comm. = 91 'to stop'). In ode 50, phr. 92, Mao has no gloss, evid. meaning the same. — B. Cheng. No gloss here, but to ode 50, phr. 92, he says: s ê 86 = 93 ('full and solid' =) 'substantial, sincere', thus: "Having a (heart:) mind that is sincere and deep". Ts'uei Ling-en, to our ode 28 here, similarly 86 = 94 'sincere': •Her (heart:) mind is sincere and deep. Cf. ode 263, phr. 95: "The king's plans were true and (solid, substantial =) sincere. (96 = 97; Cheng takes it as an adverb = 98, which is less good in the context). Shu: Kao Yao mo 99: »Strong and sincere». Li: Chung yung 100: »He does not alter in his sincerity». In this sense, the w. is sometimes wr.  $1 (*s_2k / s_2k / s_3)$ . Shuowen hi chuan quotes our ode 2, and Shuowen quotes the Shu ex. 3. — The interpr. A, while admissible for odes 28 and 50, is not applicable to phr. 95. Interpr. B. suits all cases, and is strongly supported by text par.

Chung wen ts'ie huei, see gl. 79.

**74.** Yi hü kua jen *4*.

A. Mao:  $5 * \chi iuk / \chi iwok / h \ddot{u} = 6$ , thus: »In order to stimulate me». Text par. in Shu, Yili etc. — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Fang ki) read 7. This  $8 * \chi i ok / \chi iuk / h \ddot{u} =$  'to rear, bring up, educate' (common), thus: »In order to educate me». — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

## Ode XXIX: Ji yüe.

**75.** Jī kü yüe chu *9*.

A. Mao paraphrases: 10: \*Oh sun, oh moon\*, thus taking kü and chu as particles. For kü cf. Tso: Ch'eng 2, phr. 11: \*Who? \*\* (common). For chu cf. Li: Tsi yi 12: \*Intensily they wished that they should enjoy it \*\* (in Li: Li k'i the same line runs 13). — B. Another school (ap. Tsi yün and Lei pien) reads 14, defining 15 as = 16, thus: \*The sun stands still and the moon wanders \*\*. No text par. — No reason to abandon A. 76. St. 1: Shī pu ku ch'u 17.

St. 2: Shī pu siang hao 18.

A. Mao: shī 19 = 20 'to reach, to come to'. Cf. ode 35, phr. 21: Do not come to my dam »; Lun: Yung ye 22: »The sage can reach (the well), he cannot fall down (in it) ». St. 1 is accordingly paraphrased by Cheng: 23: "That by which he approaches me (treats me) is not the former (place =) way »; st. 2 by Mao: 24: »He does not approach me with love». This way of taking shī as a transitive verb 'to approach' is not applicable to parallel Shī cases, see C below. The word 19 \*diad / źiāi / s hī is sometimes wr. by the loan char. 25 \*diad /  $zi\ddot{a}i$  / s h i (ode 123, see C below), where Mao 25=20 'to reach, come to' (also coll. current in W. Han time, Fang yen), cf. Erya 26 = 27. — B. Chu: s h ī 19 = 'an initial particle', so also in other Shī cases, see C below. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Mao's gloss s h  $\bar{i}$  19 = 20 means that 20 was a 'particle' like the graphically similar 28. But there are no text par. whatever for either 19 (except these disputed ode cases) or 20 serving as \*particles\*. — C. Another interpr. Sh  $\bar{i}$  19 = 20 'to come to', as in A, but with a different application: 'it has come to, it has come so far that'. St. 1: It has come to (the point that) he does not in the old way (place me =) treat me :; st. 2: »It has come to (the point that) he does not love me». This interpr. is applicable also in the foll. ode cases: Ode 113, phr. 29: It has come to (the point that) we will leave you. Ode 123, phr. 30 (Han, ap. Shīwen, reads 31, defining 32 by 33 'to come to'): It has come

to (the point that) he is willing to visit me. (Only in ode 257, phr. 34: »Who can grasp anything hot?...? unless you apply washing», the shī gives no reasonable meaning; but here the text may be corrupted, for Mo: Shang hien, chung, quotes the line differently.) — Interpr. C, based on the fundamental meaning of shī 32, and applicable to all the cases in odes 29, 113, 123, is the most plausible.

77. Ning pu wo ku 36. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: n i n g 37 = 38 mark of praeteritum: »He has not considered me». Cf. ode 91, phr. 39, paraphrased by Cheng: 40: »You have not sent message and asked me». Similarly in several other odes. Wang Nien-sun (ap. Wang Yin-chī, King chuan shī ts'ī) advocates that this 37 of Cheng's is equal to 41 (37 \*nieng | nieng | n i n g having the same sense as 41 \* nag / nai / n a i), but all his examples are susceptible of other interpr. There are, to my knowledge, no unambiguous text par. where ning 37 is equal to ts' eng 38. — B. Chu: ning 37 = 42 'how, why', thus: Why do you not consider me. Similarly ode 91, phr. 39: Why do you not send me a message; plausible interpr. also in odes 183, 192 bis, 197, 204, 257 bis, 258 ter, 264. Ch'en Huan points out that phr. 43 in ode 258 is quite analogous to phr. 44 in ode 192. Moreover, the synonym-compound hu ning 45 occurs in odes 204, 258. Outside the Shī there is a valuable text par. in Yi: Hi ts'ī, hia: 46: "How is a whole day needed". — C. Waley: n i n g 37 = it is better' (common), thus: \*Better if he had never noticed me ». Yet this not application able in the analogous line in ode 204, phr. 47, and there Waley transl.: »Why does nobody heed us ». — B. is best substantiated. 78. Pao wo pu shu 48.

A. Mao: shu 49 = 50 'to follow'. This enigmatic gloss expounded by Cheng 51: 'not according to the rites', by Chu 52: 'not according to reason'. Thus: "You requite me not according to decorum (or: acc. to reason)". — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 53, this 54 defined as = 55 'law, rule': "You requite me not according to the proper rule". — C. Lu. Erya has an entry 56 'not the (proper) track', expounded by Kuo P'o 57 'not following the rut, the (proper) track'. Thus: "You requite me not according to the proper way". — The fundamental sense of 54 \* d'iwst / dz'iust / shu is 'road, way', and that of 49 \* d'iwst / dz'iust / shu is 'to follow a road, go along, to follow' (etym. same word). The w. 58 \* giwet / iuzt / y ü is not (as some later comm. have argued) the same w. as 49, but a synonymous word, meaning 'to follow' (e. g. in Shu: K'ang kao). Thus the meaning of the line, whatever the variant, is clear: "You requite me not following the (proper) way", you do not requite me in the proper way.

#### Ode XXX: Chung feng.

## 79. Chung feng ts'ie pao 59.

A. Mao: chung feng = 60 'an (achieved:) complete day's wind', thus: "There has been a whole day's wind and violent (weather). — B. Cheng: chung 61 = 'to finish': »Having finished the wind, it again becomes violent». — C. Han (ap. Shīwen): chung feng = 62 'West wind', and (ap. comm. to Wsüan) = 63 'time wind' — both referring to the symbolism of the 4 quarters: »North: East: South: West wind», of which the last (chung feng 'the end wind', is that of the West, the end of the day). Thus: »There is West wind and violent (weather)». — D. Wang Nien-sun and followers: In the common Shī formula chung x ts'ie y, chung 61 'to finish' is equal to k i 64 'to finish, it has occurred, it has happened that there is', in the equally common Shī formula ki x ts'ie y. Hence chung (ki) x ts'ie y means: \*(there has become:) there is both x and y». Ode 164, phr. 65: \*There are both tranquillity and rest »; ode 252, phr. 66: "They are both numerous and many »; ode 252, phr. 67: "They are both well-trained and fleet, etc. (same formula in odes 177, 198, 212, 260, 301). Similarly ode 28, phr. 68: \*Both gentle and kind \*; ode 40, phr. 69: \*Both straightened and poor»; ode 211, phr. 70: »Both good and abundant». Particularly conclusive is the par. ode 301, phr. 71: \*Both harmonious and peaceful - ode 165, phr. 72: \*Both harmonious and peaceful». Thus here in ode 30, phr. 59: »There is both wind and violent weather » (a Ts'i variant ap. Shuowen has 73 violent rain'). — Obviously A—C have to be rejected, and D is in the main right. Yet neither chung 61 nor ki 64 should be considered as entirely "empty" particles; they have an adverbial value: 'finished, endgultig, definitely, indeed: . There is wind indeed and violent weather (rain). This is emphasized by the parallelism with other kindred formulas: ode 77, phr. 74: Truly beautiful and kind (75 for 76): ode 300, phr. 77: »Very wide and large»; ode 54, phr. 78: All childish and wild »; ode 117, phr. 79: »Greatly grand and generous ».

# 80. Hüe lang siao ao 80.

Mao: 81'this means to ridicule disrespectfully' (after Erya: hüe lang and siao ao = 'to ridicule'). Thus: "You are ridiculing me and treating me with laughing arrogance". In the first binome hüe lang, the value of lang is disputed: A. Han (ap. Shīwen): lang 82 = 83 'to rise'. This is enigmatic. The char. 82 means 'wave, to flow'. Is the idea 'surging, rising high', hence 'arrogant'? — B. Chu: lang 82 = 84 'reckless, dissolute'. Cf. Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 85; the meaning of menglang here has been much disputed, but the context seems to indicate: "The master considered this to be reckless words". Kuan: Ti ho 86: "To maltreat people by recklessness". — B is best supported. Yuyuwosī, see gl. 90.

### 81. Yüan yen tsê chī 87.

Yen 言 is here (against Cheng: 言 = 我) a particle, synon. with 焉 (see gl. 10 above), as shown by the preceding line: 88: \*Being awake, I am unable to sleep\*.

A. Mao originally had 89, though from T'ang onwards the Mao text has been altered into 90, through Cheng's influence, see B below. Shïwen records the var. 91, here merely short-form for 89. There is great uncertainty, however, also about the rest of the Mao gloss; there are three versions of it: a.  $89 * t_1 \check{e}d / \hat{t}i / c$  h i = 92 (this after Erya). This  $92 * k_1 \check{a}p / k_1 p / k$  i e = 'to catch the foot, to stumble, to trip', thus: »When longing (for him), I stumble». Cf. ode 160, phr. 93: »(The wolf) then trips on his tail».  $\beta$ . 89 = 94 (Wang Su's version ap. Shīwen). This  $94 * k_1 \check{a}p / k_1 p / k$  i e = 'to force, constrain', thus: »When longing (for him), I am constrained». No text par.  $\gamma$ . 89 = 95 (Ts'uei Ling-en's version, early 6:th c., ap. Shīwen), thus: »When longing for him, I yawn». Possibly, however,  $\beta$ . and  $\gamma$ . are not to be interpreted in those ways, for perhaps the 94

\*kiāp of Wang Su's version is a mere loan char. for 92 \*kiāp, and perhaps the 95 of Ts'uei's version is only a further corruption of the graphically similar 94. Probably a. 89 = 92 'to stumble' (after Erya) is therefore the true and original Mao school gloss. — **B.** Han (ap. Yüp'ien) reads 96. This 97 \*tied | tiei | t i means 'to sneeze' (e. g. Li: Nei tsê), thus: \*When longing (for him), I sneeze. Cheng in his Mao version had 89, but corrected it, after the Han version, into 97, and from T'ang time onwards Cheng's correction has slipped into the current orthodox text, thus forming a pseudo-Mao version. — **C.** Another interpr.: 89 \*tiĕd | t̄i | c h ī = 'angry, annoyed, chagrined', thus: \*When longing (for him), I am chagrined. Cf. Ta Tai: Wu wang tsien tsu 98: \*There is danger in being angry and annoyed \*; Li: Ta hüe 99: \*If the (body =) person has something which he is angry and annoyed about. (100 \*tiĕd | t̄i | c h i). — Quite apart from the fact that the A and B interpr. are ludicrously silly, C is strongly confirmed by next st., phr. 1: \*When longing (for him), I am pained in my bosom. (see gl. 126 below). Here the last word h u a i expresses an emotion, and our 89 is sure to do the same ('chagrined').

#### Ode XXXI: Ki ku.

82. Sī sheng k'ie k'uo 2.

A. Mao: k'i e k'u o 3=4'toiling, distressed', thus: In death and life distressed \*. Shīwen reads 5 \* k'iat / k'iet / k' i e, recording a var. 6; and 7 \* k'wat / k'uat / k' u o. For the binome, no text par., nor for k'uo. For k'ie 5 cf. ode 203, phr. 8: \*Distressed I lie awake and sigh, to which Mao: 9 = 10 'distressed'. Yet there Shïwen reads \*k'iad / k'iei / k'i, not as here, \*k'iat (mentioning, however, that Sü Miao read \*k'iat). — B. Han (ap. Shïwen): k'ie k'u o 3 = 11'to bind', thus: NIn death and life bound together. Neither for the binome, nor for the constituents, any text par. Yet there is a 12 \*kiat | kiet | k i e 'to bind' (Chuang etc.), and a 13 \*kwât | kuât | k u o 'to bind' (Yi etc.). Perhaps Han took 3 \*k'iat-k'wât to be loan char. for (or words cognate to) 14 \*kiatkwât? Of the latter two combined into a binome there is, however, no text ex. — C. Chu: k'ie k'uo 3 = 15, thus: In death and life separated and eloigned. Cf. Tso: Ting 19, phr. 16: »He cut off the wheel axles»; Ts'è: Wei 17: »Cut off the legs» (18 \*k'iat / k'iet / k' ie 'to cut off', and our 5 \*k'iat meaning the same: 'to cut off from each other' = 'to separate'). Further Lie: Huang ti 19: "Huang ti walked slowly and gazed far away»; Hanfei: Kie Lao 20: »The road goes far away». — C is best supported. It is definitely confirmed by next st. 21: \*Oh, how eloigned \*, where this meaning is certain because of the par. in line 3 ibid., phr. 22: »Oh, how eloigned», see gl. 84 below.

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## 83. Yü tsī ch'eng shuo 23.

A. Mao: shuo 24 = 25. There has been much controversy as to what Mao meant by this; but 25 shu (rising tone) means 'to tell, to count, enumerate', and probably Mao simply took 24 shuo in its well-known sense of 'to tell': "With you I have made a telling (enumeration)", i. e. we have solemnly pronounced the points of our agreement. Hence Chu takes 24 shuo as equal to 26 'to speak': "With you I have made a (speaking:) agreement". Cf. Tso: Siang 27, phr. 27: "Made an agreement". — B. Cheng: 24 shuo is loan char. for 28 yüe (as often): "With you I shall achieve a love", we shall be friends. — No reason whatever to abandon A.

## 84. Hü tsie hüan hi 22.

A. Mac: h \u00fc a n 29 = 30 'distant', thus: \*Oh, how eloigned \u00bc. Sh\u00e4wen reads \*\u00e7iwen / riwen / h ü a n (Arch. form \*riwen, not \*riwan, because it rimes with 31 \*siën). The char. 29 \*siwen / siuen / s ü n 'to drip' (ex. in Kyü) is loan char. for \*riwen. For this phonetic discrepancy cf. 32 'ornated' (Lun), read both \*siwen / siwen / s ü n (Shiwen) and \*xiwen / xiwen / h ü a n (Shīwen, Ts'ie yün). For h ü a n 'distant, eloigned' no text par. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) and Lu (ap. comm. to Lü) read 33, this 34 h ü an defined as = 30 'distant' (as A): »Oh, how eloigned ». Cf. Kuliang: Wen 14, phr. 35: »To enter, far away, into a state of a thousand war chariots»; other ex. Lü: Tsin shu, and (wr. 36) Kuan: Ti ho. The fundamental reading of this 34 'distant' was \*riwan / riwen / h ü a n (Ts'ie yün; Arch. \*xiwan, not \*xiwen, because of the phon. 37), but the same char. also applied to a synon. word \*\(\chi\)iweng / \(\chi\)iwing / h i u n g (Ts'ie y\(\text{un}\)n, Sh\(\text{Iwen}\)). Both \*\(\chi\)iwan and \*riweng make poor rimes with our 31 \*sien here. — C. Chu rejects the Shiwen tradition as to the reading (h ü a n) and takes 29 in its reading \*siwěn / siuěn / s ü n = 31 'true, to trust', thus: "Alas for our trust (in each other)". It would then be loan char. for 38, as often in Shī ('truly' in odes 42, 77, 80 etc.) — Three ancient schools (Mao, Han, Lu) agreeing that the line should mean: »Oh, how eloigned (\*riwen or \*riwan), it is not admissible to reject this in favour of Chu's interpr.

## 85. Pu wo shen hi 39.

A. Mao: she n 40 (Shīwen \*\$i\tilde{e}n / si\tilde{e}n / s h e n) = 41 'go to the end'. In this reading and sense, 40, as often, is a loan char. for 42 'to extend, continue, follow up' (as in Kyü: Tsin 43 'to extend a covenant, follow up and continue a covenant'). Thus: •He does not (extend me =) continue with me. Cf. Li: Ju hing 44: »(Even in danger, the scholar) to the end (extends =) continues, follows up his purpose (ad finem prosequitur suum intentum). — B. Cheng reads 40 \* $s_i tilde{e}n / s_i tilde{e}n / s_i tilde{e}n$ , in the ordinary sense of the char.: »He does not trust me ». — B is much simpler, yet the context decides in favour of A: 45: »Oh, how eloigned! He does not (keep me alive =) support me. Oh, how eloigned! He does not continue with me ». The ode is a lament of a lady whose husband is far away on a long war expedition.

#### Ode XXXII: K'ai feng.

Ki sin yao yao, see gl. 23.

## 86. Mushīk'ü lao 46.

A. Mao (after Erya): k'ü lao = 47 'toiling, suffering'. Thus: \*Our mother toiled and worked\*. Cf. ode 181, phr. 48: \*Toiling in the fields\* (Mao same gloss); Li: Nei tsê 49: \*When she (the nurse) had audience in the prince's palace, she was (\*toiled\* =) thanked for her toil\*; Sün: Fu kuo 50: \*Some had leisure and joy, some toiled and worked\*. — B. Han (ap. Shïwen to ode 181): k'ü 51 = 52. This seems enigmatic, for 52 has many meanings. But in Kuangya we find 53. Here k'ü is synon. w. tsou,

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and when the latter is synon. w. 52, it is in the sense of 'repeatedly, frequently, often'. Kuangya's gloss to k'ü evidently has this ode in view, in its Han school interpr.: \*Our mother frequently (constantly) worked \*. No text par. — A is better supported.

87. Hien huan huang niao 54.

A. Mao: hien huan 55 = 56, thus: Beautiful are the yellow birds. binome, no text par., nor for hien. For huan, cf. ode 169, phr. 57: \*Beautiful(?) are its fruits. (Mao here: h u a n = 58 'the appearance of the fruit', which says nothing); ode 203, phr. 59: \*Brilliant is that K'ien-niu (constellation)\*, to which Mao: h u a n = 60 'the appearance of bright stars'; Li: T'an Kung 61: It is flowery and brilliant». The lack of par. for hien 62 has caused later comm. to think that 62 is a copyists' fault for 63 (just as in Lun: Yang huo some write 64 and some 65), and that the text should run: 66 (indeed, K'ung's comm. to Li: T'an Kung quotes the Mao gloss to our ode here thus: 67). Yet it is then inconceivable that only the first member of a doublet 68 should be corrupted into 62 and not both (55, not 69). In fact, hien 62 is easily explained. 62 is \*g'ian / yien / h i e n, homophonous with 70 \*g'ian / yien / h i e n = 'to be manifest, brilliant, illustrious' (e. g. Meng: Tsin sin 71: »Illustrious in the world \*). Our 62 is the same word, the char. tautologically enlarged by rad. 'eye'. Thus hien huan 55 means 'manifest and brilliant', i. e. appealing to the eyes, 'beautiful'. — B. Shuowen: h i e n 62 = 72 'protruding eyes', Yü p'ien id., quoting this ode; huan 63 \*g'wân/γuân/huan might then be a var. of 73 \*g'wân/γuân/huan 'protruding eyes', cf. Tso: Süan 2, phr. 74: »Protruding are his eyes». Thus our ode line here: \*Goggle-eyed are the yellow birds \*. For hien, no text par.; for huan cf. Chuang: T'ien ti 75: They are staring, from out of their bondage, to which the Li comm. huan = 76 (yet other comm.: huan huan = 'sleeping'). — C. Chu takes hien huan 55 to refer to the song of the birds: \*Clear and twirling (is the song of) the yellow birds. No text par. — D. Han (ap. Yülan) reads 77. The char. 78 has many meanings. The doublet kien kien 79 means 'great' in ode 274, phr. 80: He sends down blessing that is very great (Mao, after Erya, kien kien = great'), ode 301, phr. 81: We beat the drums (greatly =) loudly. Thus Han in our ode here either: \*Great are the yellow birds \*, or: \*(Greatly-sounding =) loud are the yellow birds. The Han version is quoted as 82 in another ed. of the Yülan. — A gives the most plausible meaning, and is well supported.

#### Ode XXXIII: Hiung chi.

88. Yi yi k'i yü 83. The T'ang stone classics have the var. 84.

于嗟洵兮红與了成說無說如數以言识成言以悦切洵知遠以信以絢玩于嗟夐兮此 夏虾夏入千乘之國出禮切與如恂玑不我信兮如信如極似申伸如申盟如競信其志 对于嗟闊兮不我治兮于嗟洵兮不我信兮如朔仍病苦如朔芳于野如見於公書則 幼双或佚或樂或劬或勞如劬双數紅劬縣數也好眼晚黄鳥玩眼晚好好兒切有晚其 實口實兒內晚彼牽牛如明星兒以華而晚《眼的晚公死,竟以晚晚黄鳥口晚晚好 兒母晚晚《眼眼》見現以見於世四目出兒內時內時其目亦晚晚然在經繳之中不 新視兒刀簡閱黃鳥以簡为簡閱。8降福簡簡《奏鼓簡簡以簡介黃鳥的泄泄其羽以 A. Mao: 85: \*He flaps his wings yi-yi-fashion\*, which really tells us nothing. — B. Chu: yi yi 86 = 87 'the slowness of the flight', thus: \*(Dragging =) slowly-moving are his wings\*. Cf. Tso: Yin 1, phr. 88: \*The joy of it is (a feeling of) comfortable easiness\*, to which Tu Yü: yi yi 86 = 89; Yi Chou shu: Wu king 90: \*To use goodness without sluggishness\* (comm. yi = 91). This 92 \*ziad / iai / yi is then loan char. for 93 \*ziad / iai / yi 'to drag' (common). — B is well supported. — There are two more cases of yi yi 86 in the Shi:

Ode 111. Sang chê yi yi 94. T'ang stone classics var. 84. A. Mao: yi yi 86 = 95, thus: The mulberry-pickers are numerous. Parallel to this in st. 1 there is: 96, to which Mao: hien hien 97 = 98 'men and women without separation going and coming. — B. Chu: yi yi 86 is equal to hien hien 97, and hien hien = 99 'those who go and come being contented', thus, in both lines: The mulberry-pickers are strolling contentedly. — C. Shīwen in st. 1 reads 100: The mulberry-pickers are leisurely. (moving slowly and comfortably); sang chê yi yi 94, in analogy with this, must mean: The mulberry-pickers are (dragging =) slowly-moving. — This ode thus confirms the B meaning ('slowly-moving') in our ode 33 above.

Ode 254. Wu jan yi yi 1. A. Mao: yi yi 2 = 3 'to babble', thus: Do not babble so. This builds on the Lu school, ap. Meng: Li lou, where Meng quotes this ode, adding: 4: yi yi is equal to ta ta 'to babble'. Shuowen, quoting this ode, has the var. 5 and 6 = 7 'much talk'; 6 in this sense occurs in Sün: Kie pi. — B. Chu: yi yi 2 = 8 'the idea of remissness and slowness', thus: Do not be so sluggish. — B is an attempt to carry through the same idea of 'slowness' as in ode 33 above. But that Mao (A) is right here and that yi yi 2 is quite another word here (2 being loan char. for 5, 6 'to babble') is confirmed by the par. in next st. 9: Do not jest so.

89. Tsī yi yi tsu 10.

A. Mao (after Erya): tsu 11 = 12 'difficulty, trouble'; similarly Han (ap. Yü p'ien) tsu 11 = 13 'distress'. Thus: \*You have yourself (bequeathed =) caused this trouble. Tsu 11 (like 14) orig. means 'precipice, obstructing and dangerous pass', cf. ode 305, phr. 15: \*He entered the dangerous passes, ode 129, phr. 16: \*The road is (precipitous:) dangerous and long. For tsu 11 used figuratively = 'difficulty', cf. Yi: Hi ts'i: \*Heaven's operations are always easy, 17 for it knows the (precipices =) difficulties; the Earth's operations are always simple, 18 for it knows the (precipices =) difficulties, Tso: Hi 28, phr. 19: \*Perils and difficulties, he has fully experienced them. Our line tsī yi yi tsu 10 has a perfect counterpart in ode 207, phr. 20: \*You have yourself (bequeathed =) caused this grief\* (Tso: Süan 2 in a quotation has mixed up odes 33 and 207). — B. Chu: tsu 11 = 21 'separation', thus: \*You have yourself caused this separation\*. Chu takes tsu = 'obstruction between us' = 'separation'. — The parallelism with ts'i 'grief' in ode 207 (phr. 20) decides in favour of A. — We should compare:

Ode 35. K i tsu wo tê 22. A. Mao: tsu 11 = 12 'to make difficulties with' (find fault with), thus: •You have found fault with my virtue •. — B. Chu: tsu 11 = 23, thus: •You have (obstructed =) rejected my virtue ». — A is confirmed by the preceding ode.

90. Yu yu wo sī 24.

A. Mao has no gloss here, but to ode 1, phr. 25 he has (after Erya): y u 26 = 27 'to think of': \*Oh, he thinks of her, he thinks of her\* (longs for her), and our phr. 24 in ode 33 here (which occurred already in ode 30, further also in odes 91, 134) Cheng interprets in the same vein: \*(Thinkingly:) longingly I think\*. Analogous are ode 39, phr. 28 (to which Mao and Cheng no glosses) and ode 91, phr. 29 (to which Cheng: 30):. \*Thinking (of him) is my heart\*. — B. Chu: y u y u 26 = 31 'the length of the thinking', thas: \*Long-brooding is my thinking\*. Ode 39, phr. 28 (Chu same gloss): \*My

heart is (thinking) long. Similarly, in ode 1, phr. 25, Chu says simply: y u 26 = 32'long', thus: »Oh, long, long!». For this sense we should compare ode 54, phr. 33: »I have driven my horses a long way, ode 232, phr. 34: The mountains and rivers are distant and far away, ode 65, phr. 35: The distant blue Heaven, ode 287, phr. 36: »Oh, how distant» (this meaning of yu is very common: Li: Chung yung, Chuang: T'ien hia, Kyü: Wu yü, Sün: Yi ping etc.). 'Long' and 'distant' are kindred notions, and hence Chu thinks vu 26 means 'long-drawn, extended'. Cf. Ch'u: Kiu pien 37: I leave the brightness of the white day, I enter the (length =) long-drawn time of the long night. . — C. Lu (ap. Shuo yuan) reads 38. Since 39 also means 'distant, long' (common), C would seem to confirm B, thus: \*Long I think \*. Yet in ode 65 we find phr. 40 (Yü p'ien var. 41): \*In my heart I am agitated \*, and it is possible that Lu's 38 in our ode here is simply a loan char. for the homophonous 42 'agitated'. — The Lu school (C) reading 38 has to be rejected in favour of the A school reading 24, which is so strongly supported by many Shī par. Chu's idea, that there is one fundamental sense in the word: 'long', is undoubtedly right. As 'long, long-drawn' we have it in the Ch'u ex. (37); as 'far, distant' it is common. And by extension of meaning it means 'long-brooding'. The char. 26 (rad. heart) is created for this secondary sense. 26 \*diôg | iqu | y u 'long' is cognate to 43 \*siôg | siou | siu 'long' (common), and to 44 \*d'iôg | d'ieu | t' i a o 'long' (common), as also to 39 \*diog / idu / y a o 'long, distant'. — We compare:

Ode 193. Yu yu wo li 45. A. Mao (foll. by Shuowen) yu yu 26 = 46 'grief, distress', thus: Distressing is my suffering (47 for 48; Han, ap. Yü p'ien, reads 49). — B. Cheng: Distressing is my (village: abode =) position\*; frightfully strained. — C. Lu (ap. Fan Kuang's comm. to Erya) reads 50, same interpr. as A. — D. Legge: Distant is my village. — The A interpr. (47 = 48) is confirmed by next line 51: I am also very distressed over it\*; cf. also ode 258, phr. 52: How distressed I am (cf. ode 3, phr. 53: How grieved I am). — The 54 of version C is a short-form for 55, and this is only a sense variation, an extension of meaning, of our yu 55 'long-drawn brooding' above: (Causing long-brooding =) distressing is my suffering.

Ode 227. Yu yu nan hing 56, to which Mao: yu yu = 57 'the appearance of going' — probably Mao defines the content of the line as a whole, and verbatim it means: \*Far away to the South we march \*.

Ode 179. Yu yu pei tsing 58. Mao and Cheng no gloss. A. Chu: yu yu 55 = 59, thus: \*Leisurely(-moving) are the pennons and banners\*. No text par. —

澳澳北鼓其翼池泄然以泄泄的其象也澳澳的舒散的用藏不泄,总缓以泄洩双曳 澳澳丝桑者泄泄的多人之鬼以桑者開開的開開,男女無别往來之鬼,往來者自 得之鬼心開開,無然泄泄之泄泄引苗者《泄泄播苗苗》地《離《多言《弛緩之意,無然認識》自治伊阻以阻及難以是《險於入其阻《道阻且長以以知險及以 知阻內險阻艱難備當之矣》自治伊感以隔以既阻我他却卻以悠悠我思知悠哉悠 哉以悠幻思以我心悠悠故悠悠我心如思之》思之長也五長切驅馬悠悠以山川悠 遠が悠悠蒼天以於乎悠哉如去自日之昭昭芳襲長夜之悠悠以遙遙我思知遙如中 心搖搖《搖搖双搖搖勾修《條於悠我里《憂秋里《檀《悠悠我煙》似攸我里 又亦孔之壽又云如何里四云何吁哉以似於悠然悠郁行的行鬼及悠悠旆極別開 B. Another school. The same phr. 58 occurs in the Wu tu fu (Wsüan), and the comm. says: yu yu 55 = 60, thus: \*Fleeting are the pennons and banners\*. No text par. — C. Another school. To Tso: Chao 12, phr. 61: \*Hazardous and perilous\*, Tu Yü says: yu 62 = 63 'suspended high', which K'ung (quoting our ode here as 64) thinks builds on this ode; thus Tu Yü would interpret: \*High up are the pennons and banners\*. — D. Another interpr.: \*Long-trailing are the pennons and banners\*. — D seems the simplest way of connecting this case of yu yu with the stem 'long'.

## Ode XXXIV: P'ao yu k'u ye.

91. Tsi ying pu ju kuei 65.

A. Mao: 66 'What is above the carriage pole (i. e. the fastening-point of the pole) is 67'. This gloss reveals that the Mao school originally had the char. 68 fan, not 67, and so it is indeed wr. in the T'ang stone classis. Fan 68 means 'horizontal wooden cross-piece in front of carriage'. The line would thus mean: »The ford, though full (of water), will not wet my front cross-piece ». But this is decidedly a faulty text, for it is forbidden by the rime. The char. must be 67 \*kiweg / kjwi / k u e i, riming with 69 \*m6g /  $m_2u / mu$ . — B. Another and school (ap. Shiwen): kue i 67 = 70 the protruding ends of a wheel axle', thus: The ford, though full (of water), will not wet my wheel-axle ends. Cf. Li: Shao yi 71: »He makes a libation to the left and the right end of the wheel-axle and to the front cross-piece. (72 fan is loan char, for 68; Shīwen here expressly gives the reading \*kiwag / kjwi / k u e i for the first word; some later comm. have argued that 67 is here a mistake for 68 'front cross-piece', but that is unreasonable, since we would then have a double fan 73). Indeed, kuei 67 must have had the fundamental sense of 'wheel-axle ends', and then the phr. 74 (common) 'the same wheelaxle ends' is equal to 'the same length of the wheel-axle from end to end' i. e. 'the same gauge'. Then 'gauge' is used in the extended sense of 'wheel rut, track' (common). — C. Chu: k u e i 67 = 75 'the rut of a carriage', thus: The ford is full (of water), yet it does not wet my rut, (this absurd statement would symbolize the unreasonableness of the wicked persons!). — B is clear and convincing, and supported by a good par.

## 92. Hü jī shī tan 76.

A. Mao: h ü 77 = 78, thus: \*At sunrise, with the early dawn \*. No text par. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 79, the 80 defined as = 81 'warm', thus: \*The warm sun just (dawns =) rises at dawn \*. Cf. 80 = 'warm breath' in Li: Yüe ki. Shuowen has 82 = 83 'the warmth of the rising sun', cf. Mo: King shuo, shang 84: \*(To warm the people =) to be kind to the people \*. 80 = 'warm' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — C. Another school (Siao Sin version, 3rd c. A. D., ap. Shīwen to Yi: Kua 16) reads 85, the 86 defined as = 78, as A above. Later comm. think that this h ü 86 is wrong for 87 k a n; yet 87 k a n is only known, in pre-Han texts, in the sense of 'evening' (Tso), and there is no reason to doubt the form 86. No text par. — The words 77 \* $\chi_i u k / \chi_i vok / h$  ü : 80 (82) \* $\chi_i u / \chi_i u / h$  ü : 86 \* $\chi_i vo / \chi_i u / h$  ü were by no means identical or homophonous. B is best supported by text par.

#### 93. Chao chao chou tsī 88.

A. Lu (ap. Shīwen): 89: \*with the hand is called 90 \* $\hat{t}iog$  / tsiau / c h a o 'to beckon', with words is called 91 \*d'iog / d'iau / c h a o 'to call' ». Thus here: \*Beckoning is the boatman ». So also Shīwen, which gives the reading \* $\hat{t}iog$  / tsiau / c h a o . — B. Mao: c h a o 90 = 92 'the appearance of crying and calling', thus: \*Calling is the boatman ». Similarly Han (ap. Shīwen): c h a o c h a o = 93 'c h a o c h a o denotes the sound'. The Mao and Han glosses mean that 90 \* $\hat{t}iog$  is here loan char. for 91 \*d'iog. — No reason whatever to abandon A which follows the transmitted text.

#### Ode XXXV: Ku feng.

**94.** Si si ku feng *94*.

A. Mao: s i s i 95 (\*dziəp | ziəp | s i) = 96, thus: \*Harmoniously genial is the East wind\*. No text par. Therefore Ma Juei-ch'en thinks 95 is loan char. for 97 \*dz'iəp | dz'iəp | t s i 'harmonious' (common), as in a poem in Wsüan (Pu wang shī): 98. — B. Yen Ts'an: s i 95 is loan char. for the homophonous 99 (\*dziəp | ziəp | s i) 'to repeat', thus: \*In repeated gusts comes the East wind\*. Cf. Yi: K u a 29, phr. 100: \*The repeated k' a n hexagram\*. Fundamentally the same idea must underlie Ch'u: Kiu pien, phr. 1: \*I (have as my conveyance =) ride on the g u s t s of white vapour\* (to which Chu Hi: s i s i = 2). — B is better substantiated.

95. Min mient'ung sin 3. Same binome in odes 193, phr. 4, and 258, phr. 5.

A. Mao reads thus, without gloss. Cheng (to ode 193): min mien 6 = 7 'to make an effort, to strive', thus: \*We strive to be of the same mind \*. Var. 8 ap. Yülan and (to ode 193) ap. comm. to Wsüan; 9 ap. Han shu: Wu hing chi. 7 'to make an effort' is common. For 10 \*min / mišn / min, cf. Shu: Li cheng as quoted in Shuowen 11: \*When it came to Shou, his character was energetic (violent) \* (or: \*When it came to Shou-tê, he was energetic\*), to which Shuowen 12 \*min / mišn / min = 13 (the orthodox version inst. of 12 has 14 \*miwen / miwšn / min, same meaning). Cf. also Lun: Shu er 15: we n mo (\*miwon-mâk) = 'energetic'. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 16, this mi-wu (\*mišt-miwot) defined as = 8 (see A above), thus meaning the same. Similarly ode 193 is quoted as 17 in Han shu: Liu Hiang chuan. For mi 18 no text par. For wu 19, cf. Li: Li k'i 20: \*Intensily they wished that they should enjoy it\*; Ta Tai: Tseng tsī li shī 21: \*The noble person all his life maintains this energetic effort\*. — Undecidable whether \*mion-mian (6, 8, 9) or \*mišt-miwot (16) best repr. the orig. Shī.

96. Shī shī k'i chī 22. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: s h  $\bar{i}$  23 (\*digk /  $\dot{z}igk$  / s h  $\bar{i}$ ) = 24 'holding on to what is correct, steadfast', thus: \*Steadfast are its islands \* (sc. in the wild rush of the waters). Cheng seems to take 23 to be loan char. for 25 (\*digk /  $\dot{z}igk$  / s h  $\bar{i}$ ), synon. w. 26, as in Li: Fang ki 27 (in a quotation from Yi: Kua 63, which has 28). — B. Shuowen reads 29, defining 23 = 30 'water limpid so that the bottom is visible', thus: \*(The King river is made muddy through the Wei which joins it, but) limpid is its stopping \*, i. e. \*when the flow (slows)

 down and) stops, it becomes limpid. For 23 \*disk no text par., but it is closely cognate to 31 \*d'isng / d'isng / c h' e n g'limpid water'. — C. Chu combines A and B: \*Limpid are its (waters near the) islands \*. — C is very far-fetched, and A an unnecessary loan speculation. B is quite plausible.

97. Wo kung pu yüe, huang sü wo hou 32.

A. Mao: y  $\ddot{u} = 33 = 34$  'to hold, find room for', thus: My person is not (held, found room for, accommodated =) tolerated, how do I have leisure to be anxious about my future \*. 33 \*diwat / iwat / y u e may mean, a. o., 'hole', which Mao then thinks means 'accomodating space' and 'to hold'. Cf. Chuang (lost chapter ap. comm. to Wsuan) 35: »Wind coming from an empty hole» (equal to 36 in Sung Yü's Feng fu). Also probably Lao 37: »Stop up their holes, shut their doors », if, with Yü Yüe, we take 38 to be shortform for 33, cf. Yi: Shuo kua 39. (Confirmed by Huai: Tao ving 40: He stops up the people in their holes, expl. by Kao Yu as = eyes, ears, noses and mouths). For y ü e 33 as verb, cf. Huai: Yüan tao 41: "The totality of all things is ("sholed" =) held (contained) in one hole, the roots of all actions all come from one door». — B. Ts'i (ap. Li: Piao ki) reads 42 (kin 'now' inst. of Mao's kung 'body'). — C. Another school (ap. Tso: Siang 25) reads 43, where 44 (as often) is read \*diwat / iwat / y \u00fc e, for 45, thus: »My person is not liked». Moreover, Tu Yü's gloss to Tso shows that his version of the Tso text ran (cf. B above): 46: I am now not liked, how do I have leisure to be anxious about my future. — The A interpr.: \*I am not (\*holed\*) = held =) tolerated\* is very strained, whereas C is simple and logical and attested in a good pre-Han text; it is clearly preferable. Possibly the 33 \*diwat in the Mao school text, inst. of meaning 'hole = 'to be held', is simply a loan char, for the homophonous 44, 45 \*diwat. — Compare further:

Ode 150. Fou yu kü yüe 47. Shuowen, inst. of 48 'to dig', has 49 'to break through, burst forth'.

A. Mao: k \(\tilde{u}\) y \(\tilde{u}\) e 50 = 51 'holding (accommodating) hole', which gloss (with Ch'en Huan) refers only to the second word, y \(\tilde{u}\) e, thus: The mayfly digs through (or: bursts through) its hole. — B. Cheng: y \(\tilde{u}\) e 52 is loan char. for 53: The mayfly digs through (bursts through) and casts its exuviae. — C. K'ung: y \(\tilde{u}\) e 52 is loan for 45, thus: The mayfly digs through (bursts through) and rejoices. — Since k \(\tilde{u}\) y \(\tilde{u}\) e are evidently two connected words, A is clearly preferable.

Yung chī yu chī, see gl. 31.

98. P'u po kiu chī 54.

A. Mao reads thus: p'u po (\*b'wo-b'ək). The meaning 'to crawl' is certain. Cheng's gloss: 56 'with all one's forces' is a paraphrase. — B. Lu (ap. Han shu) and Ts'i (ap. Li: T'an kung) read 57 fu fu (\*b'iwo-b'iŭk). — The binome occurs in several other variations in early texts, e. g. Tso (Chao 13): 58 p'u fu (\*b'wo-b'iŭk); Tso (Chao 21): 59 fu fu (\*b'iwo-b'iŭk); Ts'ê: Ts'in: 60 p'u fu (\*b'wo-b'iŭk).

99. Pu wo neng hü 61.

A. Mao (as quoted in Shīwen): h ü 62 = 63 'to raise, lift'; similarly Shuowen h ü 62 = 64 'to raise', quoting this ode with an inversion: 65. It would seem then that Mao meant: "You cannot raise me (lift me up, uphold me)". Yet the following 66: "On the contrary you count me as an enemy" suggests that h ü means 'to like', and therefore both Mao and Hü Shen may have taken h i ng and k'i in their extension-meanings 'elated, pleased, to find pleasure in', cf. Li: Hüe ki 67: "He who does not find pleasure in the art"; Shu: Yi Tsi 68: "The (legs and arms =) coadjutors are rejoicing, the chiefs are elated (pleased)". Thus Mao: "You are not able to find pleasure in me (to like me)".

— B. Another school. Wang Su (ap. Shīwen): h ü 62 = 69, taking h ü to be an en-

larged form of 70: \*You cannot nourish me (support me) \*. The current text of the Mao comm. has this 62 = 69, the text evidently corrected after Wang Su. — C. Cheng: h ü 62 = 71. This k i a o means here 'to favour', as in Ts'ê: Ts'in 72 (\*he favoured Chang Yi with five cities\*), thus: \*You cannot favour me\*. — The B idea that 62 (a hapax legomenon) is etym. id. with 70 is certainly correct, yet h ü is here probably used with an extension of meaning, bringing it near to C: \*You cannot cherish me\*. For 70 'to nourish, to rear, to bring up' > 'to cherish, to fondle, to love', cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia 73: \*To h ü the prince means to love the prince\*; Chuang: Sü wu kuei 74: \*Yao was cherishingly (lovingly) kind\*.

Ki tsu wo tê, see gl. 89.

100. Si yü k'ung yü kü, ki er tien fu 75.

A. Mao (after Erya): y  $\ddot{u}$  76 = 77. This is ambiguous, but since y  $\ddot{u}$  76 has the fundamental sense of 'to rear', 77 must be read \*tiang | tiang | c h a n g (so also Shiwen) and mean 'to grow up': Formerly, when growing up, I feared that in growing I should be destitute and be ruined along with you». The sequel is: 78: »Now, when I have lived and grown up, you compare me to poison » (you hate me). — B. Cheng: The first y ü 76 = 79 'young, tender', cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) as quoted in Shuowen 80: The young son (properly: 'the son in rearing'); the second y \u00fc 76 = '(reared =) grown up, old'; thus, our ode line: »Formerly, when young, I feared that when I should be grown up, I should be destitute; and Cheng continues his interpr. thus: Therefore I ruined myself (by toil) along with you; now when we have sheng produced (= got wealth) and y ü we are (grown up =) old, you compare me to poison». — C. Another school (ap. the Shu stone classics) reads 81. — The existence, in the A text, of the second y ü 76 spoils the rhythm of the stanza, and cuts up the line in an unnatural way: si yü/k'ung yü kü — yü er tien fu (B moreover has the weakness of operating with two different meanings of yü). C is obviously right 81: si yü/ k'ung kü — yü er tien fu, and one yü too many has crept into Mao's text. In transl. C, it is not necessary to take k'ung kü = 'to fear to be destitute', they are better coördinated: \*Formerly when (in rearing =) growing up, I was scared and destitute, and I was ruined along with you (we lived in great poverty); now, when I have lived and grown up, you compare me to poison ».

101. Yu kuang yu huei 82.

A. Mao: huei 83 (\* $g'wad / \gamma u \dot{a} i / h$ uei) = 84 'angry'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): huei 83 = 85 'bad'. — Kuang 86 (Mao, after Erya = 87 'fierce', so also in ode

見以澄紅我躬不閱違恤我後以閱以容以空閱來風以空穴來風以塞其於閉其門或 見以光為口如塞民於光如萬物之總皆閱一孔萬事之根皆出一門如我令不閱如我 躬不說如說如说你我令不說如蜉蝣掘閱如掘如掘閱如春閱四閱的蜕如匍匐 救之的匍匐盡力以扶服以蒲伏以扶伏的蒲服以不我能信曰信的與此起如能不 我信以為豐口不興其藝口服故書哉元首起哉《養知畜》騙刀驕張儀以五國 以畜君者好考也以夫堯畜畜然仁以昔育恐有鞫及爾顧覆以有以長以既生配育地 于于毒的稚如有子以昔育恐鞫及爾顧覆以有洲有潰幻潰以怒的不善以洗取武政 262) primarily means 'rushing water' (Sün: Yu tso), and h u a i 83 means 'water breaking through the banks' (Kyü: Chou yü), and the metaphor is the same in both words here: •You are violent and turbulent •. Cf ode 265, phr. 88: •Turbulent and perverse •, to which Mao: h u e i = 89. — A debated case of h u e i is:

Ode 265. Wu pu hueichī90. A. Cheng: huei 83 = 89 (as above). Since neither Mao nor Cheng defines chī91, they take it as the common final particle, thus: \*There are none who are not turbulent\*. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: huei83 is here loan for 92 \*g'wəd/yuḥi/huei, Shuowen = 93 'stopping half-way', i.e. 'refractory', quoting Sī ma fa 94: \*If the armies are numerous, the men are refractory\* (Shuowen adds: 92 = 91 'to stop'). Shuowen also has an entry 95 ('disorder') = 92. In our ode line, therefore, hueichī96 is a binome = 97, thus: \*There are none that are not refractory\*. — Ma is certainly right in so far that hueichī96 is a binome. But 92 is etym. same word as 88 'water breaking through, turbulent', as above, and the line means: \*There are none that are not 83 turbulent and 91 (stopping =) refractory\*.

102. Yiyülaihi98.

A. Mao: h i 99 (\* $\chi i \rightarrow d / \chi j \not e i / h$  i) = 1 'to rest', thus: \*(You do not think of the former days when) only in me did you come and find rest. The char. 99, properly meaning 'plaster', is here loan char. Cf. ode 249, phr. 2: \*The one in whom the people finds rest. The word is etym. id. with 3 \* $\chi i \rightarrow d / \chi j \not e i / h$  i 'to draw a deep breath, to sigh' (ode 153), here in the sense of 'to breathe out', to find relief and rest. — B. Wang Yin-chī: h i 99 is loan char. for 3, but not in the sense of 'deep breath' but of 'to be angry', thus: \*(Yo do not think of the former days but) you are only angry with me \*. Cf. Tso: Wen 4, phr. 4: \*Those against whom the king was angry \*. In this sense 3 is read \* $k' \rightarrow d / k' - i / k' - i$  h' a i both by Ts'ie yün and Shīwen. Shuowen, however, quotes the Tso line 5, and this 6 in Ts'ie yün is read \* $\chi i \rightarrow d / \chi j \not e i / h$  i, like our 99 here. — C. Ma Jueich'en: h i 99 is loan char. for 7, which Shuowen registers (without text support) as variant of 8, which latter it gives (equally without text support) as equal to 9 \* $\rightarrow d / - i / i / a i$  'to love'. Thus: \*(You do not think of the former days when) only me you loved \*. — C lacks text support; B is not applicable in the par. text in ode 249, phr. 2. Hence A is preferable.

## Ode XXXVI: Shi wei.

103. Shī wei shī wei, hu pu kuei 10.

Mao (after Erya): shī 11 = 12. This lapidary gloss is ambiguous and has been differently understood:

A. Shī 11 is a full verb, meaning 'to use', cf. Shu: P'an Keng 13: \*Use and spread the people's virtue\*; Shu: Tsī ts'ai 14: \*The prince should unite them using the statutes\*; Ts'ê: Ts'in 15: \*Use him in government, not in bravery\*. This 11 \*\$ipk | \$ipk | \$h \tilde{i}\$ is closely cognate to 16 \*\$ipg | \$i | \$s h \tilde{i}\$ 'to use' (Shī, Li etc.). Even so, there are different conceptions of the line. Fu K'ien (ap. comm. to Tso: Siang 29) paraphrases our \$s h \tilde{i}\$ we i 10 thus 17: \*Your using (the principles of the Middle Kingdoms) is small\*. K'ung: \*Your use (here) is small\* (living in exile). — B. Sh \tilde{i}\$ 11 = 12 = a grammatical particle. So Cheng. Sh \tilde{i}\$ 11 as a particle is common in the odes. Sometimes it is clearly deducted from the sense of 'use' ('using' = 'thereby, thus'), e. g. ode 264, phr. 18: \*Do not disgrace your ancestors, thereby (and thus, and then) you will save your posterity\*. (Ting Sheng-shu, in Kuo hüe ki k'an, wants this sh \tilde{i}\$ to be an exhortative particle, which I cannot accept at all); sometimes it is merely a particle introducing and leading over to a second phrase, e. g. ode 191, phr. 19: \*The disorder is never settled, every month it grows\* (here sh \tilde{i}\$ practically equal to 20); ode 218, phr. 21: \*We will feast and rejoice\*. Our line sh \tilde{i}\$ we i sh \tilde{i}\$ we i 10 would then mean:

\*Small! Small! ». — C. Another interpr.: shī wei 10 may simply be an idiomatic expression: \*The use is small, meaning something like Mandarin 22: \*It's no use! . — A is too scholastic, B is excluded, since shī as a particle never commences a first clause, but only leads over from one to another; moreover \*Small! Small! \* makes no sense. C seems to be the only plausible solution.

104. Hu weihuchung lu 23.

A. Mao: Chung lu = 'a city in Wei'. — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 24. — C. Chu: chung lu = 25 'in the dew'. Similarly in st. 2, phr. 26, Mao: Ni-chung = 'a city in Wei', Chu = 'in the mire' — Since no anc. text ever speaks of Chung-lu and Ni-chung as place names (a Chung-lu first mentioned in Lu shī 27 of Sung time), and since Ni-chung does not accord with the place name types of Chou time, Chu (C) is probably right.

#### Ode XXXVII: Mao k'iu.

105. Huk'iu meng jung 28.

A. Mao reads 29, but his gloss 30: Thereby is expressed the disorder refers simply to the officers' being too elegantly dressed and gives no expl. of the binome. Shīwen reads the words in their ordinary way: 31 \*mung | mung | meng 'to cover', and 32 \*ńiông | ńźiung | j ung 'great, ample, rich'. Thus: "The fox furs are \*mung-ńiông (covered, tightly grown = ) thick and ample. For 32 here, cf. gl. 61 above. — B. Chu, misunderstanding Mao's gloss, says: meng-jung 29 = 33 'disorderly' = 34'frayed', thus: \*The fox furs are frayed (worn) . — C. Another school (ap. Tso: Hi 5) reads 35. Here 36 \*mung / mang / m ang (the char. orig. meaning 'dog', ode 23) means 'motley', as in Tso: Min 2, Chouli: Mu jen etc., and 37 \*njung / nziwong / j u n g means 'luxuriant, bushy' (only Han time text ex., yet etym. id w. 38 \*njung, ode 24, same sense, see gl. 61 above). Thus: The fox furs are \*mung-niung motley and bushy. — The rimes of the st. (39 \*tung: \*d'ung) decide in favour of version C: 35 \*mung-niung. When, however, Sü Miao (ap. Shīwen) even considers Mao's 29 \*mung-niông to be merely loan char. for 35 and reads them accordingly (\*mung-njung), this is to go too far; Shīwen's readings (see A above) are, in themselves, sufficiently plausible, though A is inferior to C in the rime system. — Cf. also ode 128, phr. 40: »A covered shield», i. e. a shield with attached ornaments, which Cheng, unnecessarily, thinks is loan char. for 41: Motley shield ».

106. So hi wei hi 42.

A. Mao: so wei 43 = 44, thus: How (small:) young and beautiful!, referring to the young of the liu-li birds; this follows Erya. Wei 45 is then a short-form for 46 \*miwər / miwei / wei 'beautiful', which we find in ode 142, Han version (see gl. 344).

潰潰回過30 風20 無不潰止20 止 20 讚20 中止 24 師多則人譜55 紅26 海上 22 讀止 22 使 24 微 4 王所恤 5 王所领 6 鏡 2 懸 4 悉 5 爱 20 式做式做胡不歸 11 式 20 用 21 式 数 民 使 26 在式 典 集 25 式 於 政 不式 於 勇 26 試 12 君 用 中國之 道 做 26 無 系 皇祖式 救 爾 後 46 亂 靡 有 定 式 月 斯 生 20 而 20 式 燕 且 喜 26 沒 有 用 處 23 胡 為 4 中 露 24 中 路 25 要 26 以 36 亂 26 沒 蒙 元 30 以 言 亂 也 20 蒙 22 元 30 亂 30 散 35 狐 36 產 百 26 沒 27 單 28 機 39 東 同 40 聚 代 40 產 代 20 琐 5 尾 5 43 琐 尾

46 \*miwər is cognate to 47 \*miər | mjwi | m e i 'beautiful'. — B. Chu: w e i 45 = 48 'a fragment', thus our line 42 here: \*Oh, fragments, remnants \*. This might be possible if 45 \*miwər stands for the homophonous 49 \*miwər | mjwei | w e i 'small' (Cf. Lun: Kung-ye Ch'ang, the N. Pr. 50, which in Ts'ê: Yen recurs wr. 51). — Chu's interpr. depends on his exegesis of the liu-li in next gloss, which, however, is untenable. 107. Liu li chī tsī 52.

A. Mao: liu li 53 = 'a bird', var. 54 ap. Shīwen, after Shuowen. Lu (ap. Kuo P'o comm. to Erya) reads 55 (Erya has 56). Liu 57 is loan char. for 58, cf. gl. 3 above. Thus: •The children of the liu-li bird •. — B. Chu: liu li 53 = 59 'to be dispersed', thus: •Children of dispersion •. — Chu without sufficient reason goes against all the anc. tradition (Mao, Lu, Erya, Shuowen).

108. Yu ju ch'ung er 60.

A. Mao: y u 61 = 62 'full dress, full ritual apparel', thus: \*(Oh, you uncles) in your full dress and with your ear-plugs!. The fundamental meaning of y u is 'sleeve' (e. g. ode 120), and yu-ju (ju = jan 63) is 'sleeve-fashion', i. e. with long-sleeved dress. — B. Cheng paraphrases the line 64, and Shīwen asserts that Cheng by yu-jan meant 'smiling': 'The faces (miens) smiling, as if their ears were stopped up', thus: \*(Oh, you uncles) you are smiling, as if with stopped-up ears \*. For  $61 *zi \hat{6}g / i \hat{z}u / y$  u (also \* $dzi \hat{6}g / zi \hat{z}u / x$  u) = 'to smile', cf. Chuang: Siao yao 66: \*Jung-tsī of Sung smilingly laughed at it \*, to which the Ts'uei and Li comm.  $67 *zi \hat{6}g / i \hat{z}u / y$  u = 65. 61 and 67, both \* $zi \hat{6}g$ , are then loan characters for such a word \* $zi \hat{6}g$  'to smile'. — The line as a whole depicts the apparel: long-sleeved dress, ear-plugs. Hence A is preferable.

#### Ode XXXVIII: Kien hi.

109. Kien hi kien hi 68.

A. Mao (after Erya): kien 69 = 70, thus: Great, great (is the dancer). Cf. ode 274, phr. 71: He sends down blessing that is very great; Ta Tai: Wen wang 72: His wisdom is great and complete. — B. Cheng (after Erya): kien 69 = 73 'select', thus: Select, select (is the dancer). Cf. Tso: Siang 3, phr. 74: Selected army. — C. Chu: kien 69 = 75 'easy and disrespectful', thus: How nonchalant (is the dancer). Cf. Mo: Fei ming, chung 76: He hates reverence and restraint and loves easy carelessness. Similar ex. in Sün: Fu kuo. — All three meanings of kien are well attested; yet Mao's interpr. is supported by the parallelism with the 1st. line in next stanza (see gl. 110), and therefore preferable.

110. Shījen yü yü 77.

A. Mao: y \(\text{u}\) y \(\text{u}\) 78 = 79 'the appearance (figure) being great', thus: \*The tall man is very great\*. 78 was \*ngiwo / ngiu / y\(\text{u}\). Cf. ode 180, phr. 80 (\*ngiwo / ngiu / y\(\text{u}\)): "The does and stags were in great number (numerous)\* (ode 261 similarly 81); it is common in Chinese that one word-stem with the fundamental sense of 'ample' means both 'ample, great' and 'ample, numerous'. Cf. further Fang yen (W. Han coll.) 82 \*ngo / nguo / wu = 'great'. B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 83, this 84 \*g'o / yuo / h u defined as = 85 'beautiful', thus: \*The tall man is very beautiful\*. Yet in Li: T'an kung 86: \*Do not let it (the chignon) be too large\*, the meaning is the same as Mao's y\(\text{u}\) 78 (so also Huai: Shu chen 87 = 'grand, large'), so the Han school definition in Shīwen may be erroneous?

### Ode XXXIX: Ts'üan shuei.

Pi pi ts'üan shuei, see gl. 336.

110 a. Yu huai yü Wei 88.

A. Mao has no gloss to huai 89 and hence takes it in its ordinary sense: •The

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(bosom =) feelings I have are in Wei» (I am longing for Wei). — B. Cheng: h u a i 89 = 90 'to come', expounded further 91: »I have (thoughts) which I (let come =) let go to Wei», thus taking h u a i to be a verb of motion. This builds on Erya: h u a i 89 = 90; 89 = 92; 89 = 93; and h u a i 89 in the sense of 90, 92 'to come' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). 89 \*g'wer might then be cognate to 93 \*kiwer. — We should compare the following odes:

Ode 101. Ho yu huai chī 94. A. Mao: huai 89 = 95, thus: •Why do you further think (of her) •. — B. Cheng: huai 89 = 92, thus: •Why then further come? •.

Ode 149. Huai chī hao yin 96. A. Mao: huai 89 = 93, thus: \*(Who will go back to the West?) — those are good words of returning home \*. — B. Cheng paraphrases 97, thus: \*(Who will go back to the West?) — I will cherish him with good words \*.

Ode 208. Huai yün pu wang 98. Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng paraphrases 99, the huai 89 = chī 90 here taken = 'attaining the culmen', thus: "To the highest degree reliable, not possible to forget". — B. Chu: "I think of them and truly do not forget them".

Ode 241. Yü huai ming tê 100. — A. Mao huai 89 = 93, thus: »I will (let come =) confer upon you a brilliant virtue». — B. Chu: «I will cherishingly think of your brilliant virtue».

Ode 273. Huai jou po shen 1. A. Mao: huai 89 = 92, thus: »He has (caused to come =) attracted and mollified all the spirits». — B. Another interpr.: »He has cherished and mollified all the spirits». —

As par. from other texts have been adduced: Li: Hüe ki 2: \*Those who live far away, he causes them to come \*; but evidently this may equally well (and better) mean: \*He cherishes them \*. Similarly in Chouli: H u a i f a n g s h ī 3: \*The master attracting those from the (distant) regions \*, better: \*The master cherishing those from the (distant) regions \*. In fact, there is no early text where h u a i means 'to come' quite unambiguously. In all the adduced cases, h u a i ('to carry in the bosom' =) 'to cherish, think of, be kind to', the ordinary meaning of the char., is clearly preferable. So in spite of the coll. use of h u a i = 'to come' in Han time (Fang yen), we should reject that meaning altogether for our Shī cases.

111. Pu hia yu hai 4. Compare three Shī parallels: Ode 44. Pu hia yu hai 4 (id. w. the present ode).

Ode 243. Pu hia yu tso 5. Ode 256. Pu hia yu k'ien 6.

A. Mao: hia 7 = 8 'far, to be far from', thus taking 7 to be loan char. for 9, as we have it in odes 243 and 256. In ode 39 here Mao has no further comment: K'ung expounds it: »I will not (go far off =) aberr and (have harm =) do wrong». In ode 44 Mao himself expounds the same line: »(I think of how the two sons) 10 did not keep off from harm. In phr. 5, Mao: »Are there not helpers from afar». In phr. 6 Mao has no gloss, but Cheng (7 = 8): \*Is that not to aberr and have fault\*. The explanations of the sense of hia = y  $\ddot{u}$  an (7 = 8) thus vary from ode to ode and are little convincing. All the pu hia yu x must obviously be interpr. in one and the same way. — B. Cheng in our ode 39 here: h i a 7 = 11 'fault' (i. e. the ordinary reading and meaning 'flaw, fault' of this char.), and 12 to be read \*g'ât / yât / h o, loan char. for 13 (as in Meng: Liang Huei wang 14), thus: Since there is no fault, what is there to it. This is not applicable to ode 44 (identical line), nor to phr. 5 and 6, hence inadmissible. — C. Chu: hia 7 and 9, both  $*g'a/\gamma a/h$  ia, are loan char. for  $15 *g'a/\gamma a/h$ γâ / h o. Later comm. have improved this into 7, 9 \*g'â loan char. for 16 \*g'o / γυο / h u. For hia 7, 9 as an interrogative, cf. ode 228, phr. 17: Why should I not say so, quoted in Li: Piao ki 18. Thus our line 4 = 19. This making no sense, the words are nimbly inverted by the commentators: 19 = 20: \*How not have harm \* = \*There is sure to be harm. Such an inversion is just as impossible as to say in Mandarin 21 for 22 'why does he not come'. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en, realizing the impossibility of the inversion in C, thinks hia 7 is loan char. for 23, \*because of their similarity in ancient sound; thus pu hia yu hai 4=24: "It is not that there is no harm" = "There is sure to be harm. 7 \*g'å and 23 \*miwo of course have no resemblance whatever. — **E.** Another interpr. h i a 7 = 8, as in A, but with another application: odes 39, 44, phr. 4: It is not far from there being harm. = There is great chance of there being harm, there is sure to be harm. Ode 243, phr. 5: It is not far from there being helpers. = It is very likely that there will be helpers. Ode 256, phr. 6: It is not far from there being fault. = . There is risk that there will be fault. Thus pu hia (7, 9) simply means: \*it is probable that \*. — E. alone is logically and grammatically satisfactory.

Wo sin vu yu, see gl. 90.

## Ode XL: Pei men.

Yu sin yin, see gl. 65. Chung kü ts'ie p'in, see gl. 79. Wei chī ho tsai, see gl. 52.
112. Wang shī tun wo 25.

A. Mao: t u n 26 = 27 'thick', thus: \*The king's affairs are thick on me\* (are heaped on me). Cf. Lü: Ta yü 28: \*One with thick face and yellow colour \*; Tso: Chao 23, phr. 29: \*Those in the rear go in thick (strong) array \*; Kyü: Cheng yü 30: \*(Thick:) ample and great \*, etc. (common). This word 26 \*twən | tuən | t u n is closely cognate to 31 \*d'wən | d'uən | t u n 'to heap, to collect'. Hence, in ode 263, phr. 32: \*He grandly concentrated (his troups) on the Huai bank \*, Mao reads \*twən and defines it = 27 'thick', Cheng reads \*d'wən and defines it = 'to heap, collect'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): t u n 26 = 33 'to press', thus: \*The king's affairs are pressing on me \*. To ode 263, phr. 32, same gloss: \*He grandly pressed on the Huai river bank \*. T u n 26 = 'to press' occurs in Han time texts, but no early text par. — C. Cheng reads 26 \*twər | tuḥi | t u e i = 34 'to throw', thus: \*The king's affairs are thrown on me \*. Cf. Huai: Ping lüe 35: \*He (throws =) puts down the six (kinds) of chess figures, he throws (arrows into) the high Hu vase \*. — While C is quite plausible, A seems most strongly corroborated.

## 113. Shī jen kiao pien ts'uei wo 36.

A. Mao: t s' u = i 37 (dz'war / dz'wai / t s' u = i) = 38 'to stop, obstruct, repress', thus: The people in the house (mutually and everywhere =) all together repress me. Shuowen defines 37 as = 39 'to push, to press', 40 'to knock', 41 'to break'. Cf. Yi: Kua 35, phr. 42: »Advancing, but pushed back (repressed)»; Huai: Pen king 43: »Pushing into and mixing with each other»; Sün: Yi ping 44: »The one who butts it (the stone), gets his horns knocked off (broken). — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen, quoting this ode) reads 45 \*ts'wər / ts'uâi / ts' u e i = 46 'to knock against, to push'; thus the sense same as in A, though the word is another variation of the same stem (\*dz'wər: \*ts'wər). No text par. — C. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 47 (Shiwen \*ts'iwər / ts'wi / ts' u e i and tsiwər / towi / t s u e i) = 48 (after Kuangya). This making no sense, there has been much speculation whether the 48 is a corruption of 49 (\*They all find fault with me \*; Cheng: They all criticize me »), or short-form of 50 (They all trample upon me, maltreat me »). No text par. — A is well supported. We compare:

Ode 258. Sien tsu yü ts'uei 51. A. Mao: ts'uei 37 = 52, thus: May the ancestors come (to my help). No text par. — B. Cheng: ts'uei 37 is loan char. for 53, which means 54 'to sigh, alas', thus: »Oh you ancestors, alas». But of such a meaning of 53 there are no text ex. — C. Chu: t s'u e i 37 = 55 'to extinguish'. expl. further: »The (sacrifices to) the ancestors are extinguished». — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: ts'uei 37 is equal to 47 in the ode above (see Han version). — E. The parallelism between the two odes is obvious. The line means: The ancestors repress me (show me no favour, disapprove of me, punish me).

### Ode XLI: Pei feng.

## 114. K'i hü k'i sl 56.

A. There is an uncertainly in the tradition as to the Mao gloss. The current version has h  $\ddot{u}$  57 = 58, i. e. 59 'modest', and no gloss for 60. Another version (ap. Shīwen) has h  $\ddot{u}$  57 = 61 'slow', and still no gloss for 60. But Cheng has evidently seen another version of the Mao gloss, for he says 60 = 61, referring 61, not to the first but to the second syll. of the binome. We may thus reconstructs the original wording of Mao's gloss: 62: \*57 means (empty =) modest, 60 means slow \*. Thus: \*You are so modest, you are so slow. This 60, ordinarily read \* $dz_ia$  /  $z_ia$  /  $z_i$ 61 \*dzio / ziwo / s ü. — B. Lu (ap. Erya) and Ts'i (ap. Pan Chao's comm. to a poem by Pan Ku) both read 63, the former saying = 64 'dignified demeanour', the latter 65 'hesitating'. Both agree essentially with A (»You are so dignified»; »You are so hesitating.). — C. Chu: h  $\ddot{u}$  57 = 66. It is not very clear what he means by this. — The  $h\ddot{u} = \text{'modest'}$  and  $s\ddot{u} = \text{'slow'}$  of A are common meanings.

Pei feng k'i kie, see gl. 7.

5.不遐有在《不遐有愆》现8速2题《不遠客《遇风客13曷《時日害野》何从 胡汉遐不謂矣从瑕不謂矣以不胡有害如胡不有害以不為甚麼來枉為甚麼不來枉 無以不無有害必王事敦我《敦也厚《敦颜而土色者》後者敦陳的敦大》也知鋪 敦淮演 32迫 34投擲 35敦六博投高盘 36室人交偏摧我习摧汨汨ョ擠a挏〃折a晉 如推如《以相接错《写者角推《催《相撰《誰《就《武》整》先祖于推双至》 唯《嗟万斌《其虚其邪》虚四虚也知謙虚《邪《徐也《虚虚也邪徐也《其虚其

#### Ode XLII: Tsing nü.

Tsing nü k'i ch'u, see gl. 144. 115. Ai er pu kien 67.

A. Mao has this reading 68 'to love'. Cheng expounds it: \*She loves me but does not (come to) see me\*. More natural seems to be: \*I love her, but do not see her\* (at the meeting-place). — B. Lu (ap. Erya and Kuo P'o's comm. to Erya and Fang yen) reads 69 = 70 'to hide', thus: \*She is hidden, and I do not see her\*. Cf. Ch'u: Li sao 71: \*They are all hidden and screened\*. This word was coll. current i W. Han time (Fang yen). — C. Ts'i (ap. Shuowen) reads 72 = 73 'indistinct', thus: \*She appears indistinct, and I do not see her\*. Cf. Li: Tsi yi 74 (to which Cheng = 75 'appearing but slightly'): \*Appearing indistinctly, as if he (the dead father) certainly were to be seen in his place\*. — Since the ode is a love song, there is no reason not to take a i in its ordinary sense: 'to love' (interpr. A.). — The same dissention regards a i in another ode:

Ode 260. At mo chu chī 76. A. Mao: at 68 = 70, thus considering it as loan char. for 69. This lapidary gloss is scholastically expounded by K'ung: \*His virtue is deep and hidden\*, thus: \*He is unfathomable and nobody can help him\*. — B. Cheng: at 68 = 77 (= at st 78): \*I regret that there is nobody to help him\*. — C. Chu: \*I love him, but nobody can help him\*. — Here again interpr. C appears by far the most simple and plausible.

116. Sao shou ch'i ch'u 79.

A. Mao has the reading 80 ch'ī ch'u (\*d'iĕq-d'iu), but no gloss. The earliest definition is that in Y ü p'ien 81: 'to walk but not advance', to walk lingeringly, hesitatingly. The same word occurs in Li: San nien wen, where Shiwen records a variant 82 (also \*d'iĕg-d'iu), cf. below. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 83 ch'ou ch'u (\*d'iôg-d'io), defined as equal to 84 ch I ch u (\*d'iěk-d'iuk), see below. Ch'o u ch' u 83 occurs twice in Chuang (Yang sheng chu and T'ien tsī fang), in the sense of 'lingeringly, leisurely'. — C. Another school (ap. Hi chuan to Shuowen, quoting this ode) reads 85 chī ch'a, which is but a corruption of Shuowen's 86 chī-ch'a  $(*d'i \circ g - d' \hat{a}, \text{ so Ts'ie yun}) = 87$  'not to advance'. — It is necessary, in this context, to quote in full the passage in Li: San nien wen 88: \*He cries out, he chī-chu, he ch'i-ch'u, thereafter he is able to leave him (the mate). Here the first word 89 chī-chu (\*d'iĕk-d'iuk), which occurs also in Chuang: Ts'iu shuei, seems to be different from the second, our word 80 ch'ī ch'u (\*d'iĕg-d'iu) in A above. Shīwen for the first binome has the variants 90 and 84, both equally read \*d'iěk-d'iuk, and says = 91 'not to go'. In Sün: Li lun we have exactly the same passage wr. thus: ming hao yen, 84 chī chu yen, 80 ch'ī ch'u yen, jan hou neng k'ü chī, and Yang Liang defines the first 84 = 92 'the feet tied to the ground', and the second 80 = 93, 'the appearance of not being able to go'. We move here in a vicious circle: 84, 89 \*d'iěk-d'iuk is (in Li and Sun) kept apart from 80 \*d'iěg-d'iu; but 84 in the Han school (B) defines 83 ch'ou ch'u (d'iôg-d'io), which in its turn is the Han (B) variant for the 80 \*d'ieg-d'iu of the Mao school (A). I am inclined to believe that there is no fundamental distinction of meaning. Just as the binome 'to crawl' (gl. 98 above) occurs in several phonetic (and graphic) variations: \*b'wo-b'ak, b'iwo-b'iuk etc., so the binome 'foot-tied, difficulty of moving the feet, to walk lingeringly, hesitatingly' occurs in several phonetic (and graphic) variations: \*d'ièg-d'iu 80, 82: \*d'iôg-d'io 83: \*d'iəg-d'å 85, 86: \*d'iĕk-d'iuk 84, 89, 90. In the Li and Sün text, two variants are used pleonastically: "He cries out, he \*d'iěk-d'iuk lingers, he \*d'iěg-d'iu hesitates, and thereafter he is able to leave him ». — From Han and later times there are several more variants of the word.

## 117. Yüe yi nü mei 94.

A. Mao has no gloss, but the graph with rad. 'heart' in the 2nd word shows that he wants it read y ü e y i (\*diwat-diak) = 'to be pleased', thus: \*I delight in the beauty of the girl\*. Variant 95 (Shīwen, Pot'ie, Yülan). Y i 'to be pleased' common in the odes (191, 217, 254, 301), and in ode 217 it recurs in the same binome, phr. 96: \*When you have seen the lord, I hope you will be pleased\*. Cf. also Shu: Ku ming 97: \*The king was not pleased\*. The graph is often exposed to loan char. changes in radical; in the Shu passage, Shīwen records the var. 98, and ode 254, phr. 99 is quoted as 100 in Tso: Siang 31, etc.; but the reading \*diak/iak/iak/y i and meaning is always the same. — B. Cheng reads 1 (correcting Mao after Shuowen's entry 2), and reads consequently shuo shī (\*siwat-siak) = 'to explain', thus: \*She (the matron) explains the beautiful (virtue) of a woman\*. — B is not applicable in ode 217 (phr. 96).

### Ode XLIII: Sin t'ai.

## 118. Sin t'ai yu ts'ī 3.

A. Mao: 4 \*ts' i ar / ts' i e / ts' i = 5, thus: The New Tower is freshly bright. Shuowen has the var. 6 (same sound), which recurs in ode 47, Mao version. No other text par. Yet in Meng: T'eng Wen kung 7: Their foreheads have sweat, the etym. may be: Their foreheads have shining moisture. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 8 \*ts' war / ts' u e i, also defined as = 9 'fresh'. This char. is otherwise only known as = 'deep' in ode 197. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

In this ode (our glosses 118 and 119) the Shīwen quotations of Han school variants (10 and 11) are applied to the 2nd st. of the ode (as var. for the words 12 and 13 respectively) in the current text, but have to be transferred to the 1st. (var. for the words 4 and 14), as proved by Tuan Yü-ts'ai.

## 119. Ho shuei mi mi 15.

A. Mao: mi mi 14 (\*miār / mjig / mi) = 16, thus: The water of the Ho is ample. Cf. ode 34, same char., reading and meaning. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 17 \*miwər / mjwgi / wei, same meaning. No text par. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. The rimes cannot decide, for in the Mao version 18 \*ts'iār: 14 \*miār make a good rime, and in the Han version 10 \*ts'wər: 11 \*miwər a just as good rime.

120. Yen yüan chīk'iu 19.

A. Mao: 20 \*ian / ien / y e n = 21 'quiet', 22 \*iwăn / iwon / y ü a n = 23 'docile, gentle' — thus taking the words separately: A quiet and gentle (mate) she sought. Y e n 20 'quiet' (loan char. for 24), cf. ode 205, phr. 25: Some enjoy their ease and

徐《威儀容止。孫級及《寬見《愛而不見《愛《憂》隱》衆藝然而蔽之及優以仿佛》優然以有見乎位が做見見《愛莫助之巧昔》愛昔の極首踟蹰《踟蹰》所不進及捉厮の躊躇《躑躅》時歸《時陽の不前《鳴號焉臟陽焉踟蹰焉然後乃能去之以滿獨の滿濁以不行及足擊地以不能去之見《說釋女美·於從釋》既見君子庶幾說揮以王不擇,王不釋,辭之憚心鄙之釋,說釋女美、說釋了新臺有此《此了鄭明《歌之其桑有此》新臺有灌,鮮見《灌》還及酒乃流及滿漏不河水瀰漏及盛刀河水遲還及批,燕婉之求以燕以安以婉以順《宴公或燕燕居息《子之燕居

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rest »; Lun: Shu er 26: »When the master was living quietly (unoccupied, in rest)». Yüan 22 means unambiguously 'docile, compliant, gentle' in Tso: Siang 26, phr. 27: »Tso was ugly but compliant (gentle), the heir apparent Ts'o was beautiful but quarrelsome »; Tso: Chao 1, phr. 28: »Shu-sun was sharp (in his meaning) yet gentle (in his words) \*; Kyü: Wu yü 29: \*Make the words compliant and humble \*. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads  $3\theta$ , defining 31 as =32, thus: •A beautiful mate she sought •. For yen 33, no early text par. For y  $\ddot{u}$  an 22 = 'beautiful', cf. ode 94, where this meaning is unambiguous: 34: \*The clear forehead how beautiful \* (see gl. 241), to which Mao 35. — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen quoting this ode) reads 36, defining yen 37 = 38 'to play with each other with the eyes', i. e. 'coquettish, roguish' — in this sense coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). Thus: A coquettish (mate) she sought. No text par. — The two meanings 'docile' and 'beautiful' of y ü an 22 derive from the fundamental sense 'pliable' (thus etym. s. w. a. 39): pliable > accommodating, docile; pliable > delicate, tender > beautiful. (Cf. 40 pliable > delicate, tender > beautiful). That Mao has taken y ü a n = 'docile, gentle' and not = 'beautiful' (as in ode 94) is because tradition attributes the epithet here to a man (prince), not to a lady. The weakness of interpr. B and C is the lack of text par. for 33 and 37. Nonetheless, B is preferable (C is less natural in the context), because the context shows that the binome must refer to the looks of the mate: \*She sought a beautiful mate — but she got a deformed (ugly) one », see gl. 121 next.

121. St. 1. K'ü ch'u pu sien 41.

St. 3. Tê ts'ī ts'i shī 42.

For pu sien see gl. 122.

A. Mao: 43 k'  $\ddot{u}$  ch' u (\*g'iwag-d'io) = 44 'one who cannot look down, bend down, stoop'; 45 ts' i sh i (\*ts'iôk-śia) = 46 'one who cannot look up, raise himself upwards, straighten himself'. Thus, st. 1: \*(She sought a beautiful mate but) it was a k' ü - ch' u stiff one »; st. 3: »She got this ts'i shī curbed one ». Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü (4): »The K'ü-ch'u cannot be made to stoop, the ts'i-shī cannot be made to straighten himself, the pigmy cannot be made to lift, the dwarf cannot be made to carry, the blind cannot be made to see, the mute cannot be made to speak, the deaf cannot be made to hear. Here it is clear that k'ü-ch'u and ts'i-shī refer to some bodily defect. Wei Chao (comm. to this Kyü passage): k'ü-ch'u = 47 'a straight one', ts'i-sh $\bar{i}$  = 48 'a sick (deformed) one'. Further Huai: Siu wu: Though the k'ü-ch'u and the ts'i-sh I powder their face and pencil their eyebrows, they cannot be made beautiful, to which Kao Yu:  $k'\ddot{u}$  - ch'u = 49 'bent',  $ts'\dot{i}$  -  $sh\ddot{i} = 50$  'hunch-backed'. Thus Wei and Kao have contrary expl. of k'ü-ch'u (straight: bent — the former following the Kyü passage). In any case the binomes refer to deformed, misshapen people, not able to stoop (f u) or straighten up (y a n g) like healthy men. Such misshapen men were kept as court buffoons: Kyü: Cheng yü: »Chu-ju dwarfs and ts'i-shī deformed ones are in attendance at your side », to which Wei Chao: »chu-ju and ts'is h i were both 51 sport and laugh people ». This is what Erya has in mind, when defining k' $\ddot{u}$ -ch'u as = 52 'soft-mouthed' and ts' $\dot{i}$ -sh $\ddot{i}$  as = 53 'soft-faced', i. e. court sycophants. (Cheng tries to reconcile Erya and Mao: »K'ü-ch'u always looking at people's face and fashioning one's words accordingly, hence unable to fu look down; and ts'i-sh i submitting to people by one's glances, hence unable to yang look up > — a most comic scholastic trick). — B. Han (ap. Yülan): ts'i shī 45 = 54 'toad'. Shuowen (quoting this ode) inst. of 45 (\*ts'iôk-śia) reads 55 ts'iu shī (\*ts' $i\hat{o}g$ -sia) (or alt. 56 \*ts' $i\hat{o}k$ -sia) = 57 'toad'. Thus, st. 3: "She got this toad"; no text par. For k'ü-ch'u no corresponding Han or Shuowen definition. (Waley thinks 43 k'ü ch'u stand for 58 'paddock' — but as far as I know no such word

exists). — C. Chu: k'ü-ch'u properly means a coarse bamboo mat (so in Huai: Pen king, coll. current in W. Han time, Fang yen); it may have been rolled up into a 59 grain basket (cf. Li: Yüe ling 60 = 'a basket'), and then resembled a swollen and stiff person. Thus, st. 1: \*(She sought a beautiful mate but) it was a basket-mat fellow \*. Chu has no similar expl. of ts'i-shī. — K'ü-ch'u 'basket-mat' and ts'i-shī (ts'iu-shī) 'toad' were evidently nicknames for misshapen court buffoons Thus: st. 1: \*(She sought a beautiful mate but:) it was a basket-mat-buffoon \*; st. 3: \*She got this toad-buffoon \*.

122. Pu sien 61. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng (after Erya) sien 62 = 63 'good', thus: \*(It was a basket-mat buffoon), no good. Cf. Shu: Wu yi 64: \*He was kind and good to widowers and widows. — B. Wang Su (foll. by Chu): sien 62 = 65 'few, little', thus: \*(He was a basket-mat-buffoon), not a little \*. — B is because of the par. 66 in the 3rd st. (see gl. 124 below), but very far-fetched. A is obviously superior.

123. Sin t'ai yu sien 67.

A. Mao: sien 68 = 69 'high and lofty' (based on Erya, Shī k'iu). Evidently Mao took 68 \*siən / sien / sien to be loan char. for 70 \*siwən / siuen / sün 'high, lofty' (for which, however, there is no text par.). Shiwen reads 68 here \*ts'wer / ts'uai / ts'uei, but this is due to a mistake; it says further: »The Han version has 71 \*ts'wər /  $ts'u\dot{n}i/ts'$  u e i = 72 fresh, bright. As Tuan Yü-ts'ai has proved beyond doubt, this is a variant belonging to the 1st st. (see gl. 118 above), by mistake carried over to the 2nd st. here by Shīwen. Then Shīwen also transferred the reading \*ts'wer | ts'uāi | ts'uei of 71 to the 68 of Mao's version, because the following rime word is 73 \*mwər/ musi / me i. But it must be observed that the 3rd riming w. in the st. is 74 \*d'ion (or \*t'iən, see gl. 124 below), so the rime sequel could equally well be 68 \*siən (\*siwən): 73 \*mwər: 74 d'iən as 68 \*ts'wər: 73 \*mwər: 74 d'iən. If Mao is right in his translation, 68 should be read either in its ordinary way \*sion / sien / sien (then only cognate to 70); or \*siwən / siuen / s ü n (then a mere loan char. for 70). — B. Another interpr. The char. 68 (\*sian / sien / sien and \*sian / siei / si, so both Ts'ie yun and Shīwen) properly means: 'to wash clean', cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang 75: »I wish, for the sake of the dead ones, to wash it clean > (the disgrace). Thus here: The New Tower is (washed clean =) pure. The rime sequel will then be: 68 \*sian~\*siar: 73 \*mwar: 74 \*d'ian. - B is confirmed by the par. in st. 1, phr. 76: \*The New Tower is freshly bright \*. 124. Put'ien 77.

A. Mao (after Erya): 78 \*d'in / d'ien / t' i e n = 79 'to cut off, interrupt' (common meaning), thus: \*(A basket-mat buffoon), unceasingly \*. — B. Cheng reads 80 \*t'in / t'ien / t' i e n, thus: \*(A basket-mat buffoon), no good \*. Cf. Li: Yen li 81: \*Wine that is not good \*, to which Cheng says: \*The k u w e n version had 77 \*. — In the Li ex. just quoted the 83 of the k u w e n version cannot possibly mean \*unceasing wine \*,

3. 任恶而婉太子座美而很好权藏较而婉如婉约其解如嫉妒之求以嫉妒五好包 52 嫉 共清揭婉 5 35 婉美 56 眼婉 56 眼 40 目相戲 55 完 如从《蘧除不鲜《得此戚花《蘧陈水作传者如戚花《不能仰者《直者《奉《偃》使《偃笑之人及口柔》面录 54 蟾蜍 55 鞭鼍 56 毫許 56 56 56 57 56 57 新臺有酒及酒人高岭 70 岭 71 淮 2 鲜 72 浣 74 96 55 顾比死者一酒之 2 新臺有此

but 77 here unambiguously means 'not good', synon. with 80 (\*d'iən: t'iən two var. of the same stem). Whether the orig. ode had \*d'iən or \*t'iən cannot be decided, but in any case the phrase meant 'not good'.

### Ode XLIV: Er tsi ch'eng chou.

## 125. Fan fan k'i king 84. No anc. glosses to king.

A. Shïwen: \*85 read in the ordinary way \*, i. e. \*kliǎng | kivng | k i n g: \*Floating on is its bright apparition \*. Cf. Sün: Kie pi 86: \*The impure brightness (sc. like that of fire) shines outwards (has an outward-going light), the pure brightness (sc. like that of water) shines inwards (has an inward-going light) \*, to which Yang Liang: k i n g 87 = 88 'brightness, lustre'. — B. The char. 87, equally in the reading \*kliǎng | kivng | k i n g (with Shīwen) may mean 'shadow', thus: \*Floating on is its shadow \*. Shīwen adds: \*some read it \*'iǎng | 'ivng | y i n g \* (in which reading it is equal to 89). For ex. of the meaning 'shadow' in both these readings, \*kliǎng and 'iǎng, see gl. 138 below. — C. Wang Yin-chī: 87 is short-form for 90 \*kliwǎng | kiwvng | k i u n g 'far away', thus: \*It floats on, far away \*. For this we must compare:

Ode 299. Kiung pi Huai yi 91. A. Mao: kiung 90 = 92, thus: \*Going far away are those Huai tribes \*. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode 91) says: kiung 90 = 93, thus: \*Awakened (coming to their senses) are those Huai tribes \*. — C. Lu (ap. Yang Hiung) and Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) read 94, this 95 \*kwăng | kwong | kung defined by Han as = 93: \*Awakened are those Huai tribes \*. — D. Another school (Shuowen as quoted in Shīwen) reads 96, saying: 97 \*k'wâng | k'wâng | k' uang = 98 'wide off, far away', thus: \*Far away are those Huai tribes \*. Thus A and D have the meaning 'far away', though with different words: 90 \*kliwăng and 97 \*k'wâng; B and C have the meaning 'awakened', though with different words 90 \*kliwăng and 95 \*kwăng. Neither 90 \*kliwăng (A, B) nor 97 \*k'wâng (D) is known by any other early text; 95 \*kwăng (C) is known from Kuan-yin-tsī, but there meaning 'rustic' (this would make good sense here: \*Rustic are those Huai tribes \*). —

With no text parallels, it would be impossible, in ode 299, to decide which school best repr. the orig. Shī: \*kliwăng (90) 'far away', \*kliwăng (90) 'awakened', \*kwăng (95) 'awakened' (possibly: 'rustic') or \*k'wâng (97) 'far away'. Here the text par. in our ode 44 comes to our aid. To our 84 in st. 1 corresponds strictly, in st. 2, phr. 99: \*Floating on, it passes away\*. In our st. 1, the verb should be a corresponding verb of motion: \*Floating on it goes far away\*, which confirms the C interpr. (80 = 90). This being established, it corroborates the A reading and interpr. in ode 299: \*Far away are those Huai tribes\*.

126. Yüan yen si tsi 100.

A. Mao: y \u00fc a n 1 = m e i 2. This gloss is obscure and may be explained in several ways: a. K'ung 3: \*Whenever I have something to say, I think of you \*. \u03b3. y e n 4 is a mere particle, as often in the Shi, and Mao's 5 would then be equal to 6: \*Whenever I think of you \*, analogous to the mei 2 in ode 164, phr. 7: \*Whenever there are good friends \* (even though there are good friends). But if this was Mao's idea, then there is no text par. whatever for y \u00fc a n 1 = m e i 2 'every, whenever'. \u03b3. mei 2 was current in Han time in the sense of 8 'to desire', e. g. Han shu: S\u00fc chuan 9: \*Wishing to live \*; this same word, wr. 10, was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen 11), and we find it wr. 12 in Ch'u: T'ien wen 13: \*King Mu was artful and desirous \*. So Mao's mei 2 may be a translation of the synon. y \u00fc a n 1 'to desire': \*Desirous (longing), I think of you \*. If so, Mao has the same idea as Cheng, see B next. —

B. Cheng: y \u00fc a n 1 = 14 'to think longingly of', thus: 100 = \*Longingly I think of you \*. — B is applicable also in odes 30 and 62, and it is obviously the correct interpr.

127. Chung sin yang yang 15.

A. Mao: 16 = 'yang-yang-wise grieved and perplexed', thus: »In my heart I am grieved ». — B. Lu. Erya has an entry 17: »Yu yu and yang yang mean 'to think of, long for' »; this, acc. to Hing Ping's comm., refers to our ode and reveals a Lu school variant. Thus: »In my heart I think longingly (of you) ». — Both 18 and 19 are loan char. for 20 (all three \*ziang | iang | yang), which in Erya is defined as = 21 'to grieve'; fundamentally: 'sick, suffering', in ode 192, phr. 22 (\*ziang) also wr. 23: »For hidden sorrow I am ill (suffering) ». Cf. Chuang: Chī lo 24: »Are you really grieved »; Lü: Chī kien 25: »I now see the people grieving (suffering) and fleeing East without knowing where to stop ».

Pu hia yu hai, see gl. 111.

### Ode XLV: Po chou.

128. Tan piliang mao 26.

A. Mao reads so: \*Hanging down are those two tufts (of hair) \*. 27 was \*d'əm |  $d'\hat{a}m$  | tan, and 28 \*mog |  $m\hat{a}u$  | mao. — B. Shuowen reads 29; meaning the same, but 30 was \*təm |  $t\hat{a}m$  | tan, and 31 \*miôg | mi2u | mou. — \*d'əm: \*təm were cognate words, but not identical, and so were \*mog: miôg. Undecidable which best repr. the orig. Shī. 129. Shī wei wo t'ê 32.

A. Mao:  $t \stackrel{\circ}{\cdot} 33 = 34$ , thus: »He was my mate». The char. 33 primarily means 'male', and one would imagine an extension of meaning 'my male'. > 'my mate'. Yet in ode 188 we have 33 'mate' in the sense of 'wife'. Therefore the idea is quite different:  $33 * d^{2}ak / d^{2}ak / t$  'ê 'male' is often loan char. for the homophonous  $*d^{2}ak$  'single, an only one', and this may lead to 'one of a pair' = 'a mate'. Cf. p' i 34 which means 'single, an only one' (Kung-yang), hence also 'one of a pair, a mate' (Shī). The par. is exact. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 35. Shīwen considers this 36  $(*d^{2}i_{2}k)$  as loan char. for 37  $*d^{2}i_{2}g / d^{2}i / c$  h  $\bar{i} = 38$  'equivalent', thus: »He was my (equivalent =) mate». Yet the char. 33 is alternatively wr. 39 (Li, passim), and it is more likely that the Han version 36 is not a loan char. for 37 but a short-form for 39.

## Ode XLVI: Ts'iang yu ts'ī.

130. Chung kou chī yen 40.

A. Mao: chung kou 41 = 42. This is too obscure to be of any value. — B. Another school (ap. Ying Shao, comm. to Han shu, quoting this ode): chung kou

41 = 43 'wood (carpentry) crossing (interlacing) in the interior of the hall'. This builds on Shuowen: 44 = 45 'interlacing carpentry'. The word-stem \*ku | kqu | k o u has a fundamental sense of 'to intertwine, interlacery, to cross, connect', and recurs in 46 \*ku 'marriage' (connection), 47 \*ku 'to cross, to join', 48 \*ku '(to interlace:) to build, fabricate', 49 \*ku 'irrigation canals', 50 \*ku 'bamboo cage', 51 \*ku '(to cross:) to meet' etc. Chung kou 41 is then 'the trellis-work of the interior', the inner chamber adorned with trellis-work carpentry. Thus: The words of the (inner trellis-work =) inner chamber. — C. Cheng: 40 = N Words 47 fabricated, concocted in the interior. Cheng takes the word-stem \*ku here, not in its concrete sense ('interlacery, trellis-work') but in its abstract: 48 'to intertwine, to fabricate'. — D. Han (ap. Shīwen) and Lu (ap. comm. to Han shu): 41 = 52 'the middle of the night', thus: The words spoken in the night. Yü p'ien repeats this, quoting this ode with the var. 53 (after Kuangya). For k o u = 'night' no text par. Indeed, it is a mere extension of meaning, as shown by the rad. \*roof \*: 53 as in B above = 'the inner chamber, the sleeping-room', hence: The words of the sleeping-room = the words spoken in the night. This, then, is essentially id. with interpr. B. — E. Ma Juei-ch'en: 41 is loan char. for 54 (\*ku / kəu / k u) (as in ode 257, see below), in which he (after Wang Nien-sun) reads 55 c h u n g' (falling tone) = 56: 'to incur dirt', thus: "The words which (incur dirt =) are dirty" (disgraceful). — Ingenious though C and E might be, the context decides in favour of B (D). The theme is the contrast between the exterior wall and the inner chamber: The wall has the Tribulus — it cannot be brushed away; the words of the inner chamber (the words of the sleeping-room darkness) — they cannot be told . — We should compare:

131. Pu k'o siang ve 63.

A. Mao reads thus (\*dz'iang | ziang | s i a n g): \*They cannot be told in detail\*.—

B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 64 (\*diang | iang | y a n g): \*They cannot be (lifted =) published\*. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

#### Ode XLVII: Kün tsi kie lao.

Wei wei t'o t'o, see gl. 49.

132. Chen fa ju yün 65.

A. Mao: chen 66 = 67, thus: The black hair like a cloud. Kuo Chung-shu (Han kien, 1 st c. A. D.) quotes Mao as having 68, cf. B below. Cf. Tso: Chao 28, phr. 69: "He bore a daughter, whose hair was black and very beautiful, so lustrous that you could mirror yourself in it, she was called the Dark Lady"; Tso: Chao 26, phr. 70: A gentleman with white face and black beard and eyebrows" (often transl. as 'thick beard' but the contradist. to 'white face' confirms the meaning 'black beard'). — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen, quoting this ode) reads 68, this 71 defined as = 72, thus: The thick hair like a cloud". — There are two difficulties here. On the one hand, the two words were not homophonous but only similar in Arch. Chinese: 73 \* tien / tsien / che n and 71 \* tien / tsien / che n (coinciding in Anc. Chinese). On the other hand, there are

curious sense contacts. That  $73 * \hat{t} i \check{e}n$  has the idea of 'black' in the Tso passages is undisputable; but there are 74 (Chouli) and 75 (Yili), both (with 76 as phonetic) read  $* \hat{t} i \check{e}n / t \acute{s} i \check{e}n / c$  he n and meaning 'dense, compact'. Again,  $71 * \hat{t} i \check{e}n$ , defined as = 'thick hair' in Shuowen, serves as phonetic in  $77 * \hat{t} i \partial n / t \acute{s} i \check{e}n / c$  he n 'black dress' (Shuowen = 78), e. g. Yili: Shī kuan li 79: \*The brothers all are dressed in black'. So the word  $* \hat{t} i \check{e}n$ , proved to mean 'black', is homophonous with (and has the same phonetic as) words meaning 'dense', and the word  $* \hat{t} i \partial n$ , defined as 'thick hair', is homophonous with (and is phonetic in) a word meaning 'black'! That the two words  $* \hat{t} i \check{e}n$  and  $* \hat{t} i \partial n$  are closely cognate is obvious; but whether the fundamental sense is 'black' or 'thick' is undecidable. In this ode, at any rate, 'black' gives better sense, suiting the metaphor \*like a cloud \*.

133. Yang tsü chī si ye 80. To 81 no anc. gloss.

A. Shīwen reads 81 \*ts'iā / ts'ia / ts'ie, but this word in that reading = 'moreover' does not allow of a satisfactory construing of the following chī. — B. Sü Miao (ap. Shīwen) reads 81 \*tsio / tsiwo / tsü, which is a common particle in Shī, and here it is simply a euphonic outfilling particle: \*The whiteness of the forehead \*. — B is confirmed by the par. with the genitive construction in the preceding line: 82 siang chī ch'ī ye: 80 yang (tsü) chī si ye.

134. Meng pi tsou ch'ï 83.

A. Mao: tsou 84 = 85 'the most fine-meshed of dolichos cloth', so also Shuowen 86. Thus: \*She is dressed in that fine-meshed dolichos cloth \*. — B. Another interpr. Shuowen continues: 87 \*some say it means tsu 88 \*. This \*tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu means 'to trample', and is alt. wr. 89; and 'to trample > press > compress' has led to an extension of meaning > 'to wrinkle, to crimp'. This latter is what is intended here by Shuowen, as expounded by Cheng 90: \*tsou ch' i means crimped ch' i\*. Thus Shuowen mentions alt. and Cheng adopts for tsou 84 the meaning 'crape': \*She is dressed in dolichos crape\*. — The fact that 91 or 92 to this day coll. means 'crape', and 93 means 'wrinkled, crimped' speaks strongly in favour of B.

135. Shī sie fan ye 94.

A. Mao paraphrases: 95 'the fan-yen dress worn during the heat'. What Mao meant by fan-yen is not clear. Shuowen under 96, quoting this ode, says: 96 = 97 'uncoloured garment, plain garment'. No text par. 98 \*siat | siāt | sie 'to bind' common. Thus: "That is the plain garment tied (to the body)". — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen, under 99, quoting this ode) reads 100: "That is the plain garment worn next to the body". 99 \*siāt | siāt | sie 'garment next to the body, undress' is common (e. g. Lun). — C. Chu: 96 (\*b'iwān | b'iwvn | fan) is loan char. for 1 (\*pwân |

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 $pu\hat{a}n / pan) =$  'to bind'. The 2 is then = 3, thus our line 94: \*That is bound \* (sc. to the body). Cf. Huai: Tsing shen 4: \*Binding its feet, in order to prevent its moving \*. Etym. s. w. is 5 \*pwân 'strap forming part of horse's trapping' (Tso). — C has the weakness of altering the reading (from \*b'iwăn to \*pwân). A and B are both plausible, but B is logically better, both words s i e and f an indicating a simpler under garment, as opp. to the richer outer garment (6) mentioned in line 1. Of course the 98 \*siat of the Mao text version may simply be a loan char. for 99 \*siat.

A. Mao (after Erya) y  $\ddot{u}$  an  $\delta=9$  'a beautiful woman', thus: •She is the beauty of the country•. Cf. Hanfei: Pa king (K'i luan) 10: »The beauties of the palace •. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 11, this 12 defined as = 13. The latter is probably a corruption of 14 'aid', since 12 regularly means 'to cling to, rely upon, get aid, succour, support'. So it must have been read by Cheng, who paraphrases: 15 'The one whom the people leans on as a support and aid'. Thus: »She is the support of the country». Shuowen funnily has tried to come out of the difficulty by combining the two meanings, defining: 16 'a beautiful woman, on whom people rely'. This scholastic etym. is refuted by the Hanfei ex. above. — The A version is clearly superior: the line is the climax in a description of a beautiful lady.

## Ode XLIX: Ch'un chi pen pen.

137. Ch'un chī pen pen, tsüe chī kiang kiang 17. Mao's gloss gives no key to the meaning of pen pen and kiang kiang.

A. Han (ap. Shīwen): pen pen kiang kiang = 18 'the appearance of living in pairs'. This is further expounded by Cheng: 19 \*\*that means that in their living they have constant mates». Thus: »The quails are living in pairs, the magpies are living in pairs. No text par. — B. Ts'i (ap. Li: Piao ki, quotation of st. 2, with the words inverted) reads 20. The same Cheng, who in his Shī comm. followed the Han school (see A above), in his Li comm. says: 21 \*kiang kiang pen pen = the appearance of fierceness in fighting». Thus: .The quails are ardent, the magpies are fierce .. 22 \*pwən / puən / pe n means 'to run, to rush' (common), hence also 'ardent', cf. Chouli: Kung jen 23: »Irascible, forceful and ardent », and 24 \*pwon / puon / p e n is used interchangeably with that, e. g. Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng 25: »The ant runs along»; Shu: Li cheng 26 \*\* those who rush like tigers \*\*, i. e. warriors. Thus pen 22, 24 = 'rushing, ardent'. 27 is here read (Shīwen) \*kiang / kiang / k i ang, just like 28, and the latter (Ts'i) is a mere loan char for the former. 27 \*g'iang / g'iang / k' i a n g 'strong' is common, and an alternation \* $k_i$  and  $\sim$  \* $g'_i$  and inside the word stem is quite regular. — C. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. to Lü) has 29, like Ts'i (so also quoted in Tso: Siang 27), but defines it (Kao ibid.) = 30 'the colour not being homogeneous', thus: "The quails are particoloured». This is because Kao took 24 in its reading \*piār / pjig / p i, which it has as a name of a hexagram in Yi, defined by Wang Su (ap. Shiwen) = 'having a patterned décor in yellow and white colour'. — B. is obviously best substantiated.

## Ode L. Ting chi fang chung.

**138.** King shan yü king *31*.

136. Pang chi yüan ye 7.

A. Mao (after Erya): k i n g 32 = 33, thus: "The great mountains and the hills". Cf. ode 209, phr. 34: 'Great happiness"; Kyü: Tsin yü 35: "The great Huo mountain", etc. — B. Another school (ap. Shuei king chu): k i n g s h a n = the name of a mountain, thus: "The King-shan and the King". — C. Chu: k i n g 32 = 'to measure by the shadow', thus: "He measured by the shadow mountains and hills". Cf. ode 250, phr. 36,

to which Mao: ki king = 37 'to examine by the shadow of the sun'; Chouli: T'u fang shī 38: \*He handles the method of the gnomon in order to ascertain the shadow of the sun\*. Since  $32 *kli\check{\alpha}ng / kivng / k$  ing is here synon. w.  $39 *i\check{\alpha}ng / ivng / y$  ing 'shadow', it might be supposed to be a mere loan char. and therefore frankly to be read y ing. That 32 really stands for 39 and has to be read y ing is not uncommon (Chuang: Ts'i wu lun, Han shu: Kia Yi chuan etc.). But the anc. commentators insist that even in this sense of 'shadow' it still has to be read  $*kli\check{\alpha}ng / kivng / k$  ing; so Shīwen expressly states under the Chouli passage cited. — The C interpr. is preferable for two reasons: first, the meaning of 32 king in ode 250 'to measure by the shadow' is unambiguous, and there it is a question of the founding and planning of a new city — in our ode here it is an analogous account of the planning of a palace; secondly, the parallelism shows that 32 king is a verb: 40: \*He surveyed Ch'u and T'ang, he shadow ow ed (measured by the shadow) mountains and hills.

# 139. Sing yen su kia 41.

A. Mao has no gloss, therefore he evidently takes sing 42 'star' in its ordinary sense. Yen 43 is the particle equal to 44. Thus: \*By starlight, early he yoked his carriage». (So also Chu). — B. Han (ap. Shïwen) says 42 = 45. Ordinarily this 45 is read \*tsižng / tsižng / tsi n g = 'pure', but here it is probably loan char. for another word. Shuowen has a char. 46 \*dz'ieng / dz'iang / ts'ing defined as = 47 'after rain, clearing in the night so that the stars are visible'. This is the word which from Han time (e. g. Shuo yüan) onwards is commonly wr. 48, for which 45 of the Han gloss is then a loan char.; there is, namely, a third variant of the \*dz'iĕnq: to Shī ki: T'ien kuan shu 49 (= 48) corresponds in Han shu: T'ien wen chī 50 (the latter read \*dz'iĕng / dz'iäng / ts'ing, Tsi yūn). And finally this latter 50 may be abbreviated, the 'sun' at the side being dropped: Hanfei: Shuo lin 51: »It rained for ten days, and then in the night it cleared, this is quoted in Shuo yuan as 52. In the Hanfei passage 42 has evidently not be read \*sižng / si ng 'star' but \*dz'ižng / dz'i ang / ts' i ng = 'the sky cleared'. Now, in our ode, phr. 41, when Han defines 42 by 45 (i. e. 48), it probably meant (though Shiwen does not expressly say so) that it had to be read \*dz'iëng, as in the Hanfei passage, thus: . When it cleared during the night, early he yoked his carriage. Cheng seems to have had the same idea, for he says: 42 = 53'the rain ceasing so that the stars are visible', which follows Shuowen's definition of 46. It is possible that Shuowen's graph 46 (no pre-Han text ex.) is a mere variation of 42 in the special reading \*dz'ičng 'clearing sky', the 54 'night' being substituted by Hü to

 55 'sun'. From the glosses (Shuowen, Cheng): 'sky clearing so that the stars are visible' it follows that the early scholars felt 42 \*sièng 'star' and 42 (= 45, 46, 48, 50) \*dz'ièng 'starring sky' = 'clearing sky' to be cognate words. — Since the preceding line precisely speaks of rain: \*When the good rain had fallen, he gives order to his groom: when it cleared during the night, early he yoked his carriage\*, B is preferable.

Ping sin sê yüan, see gl. 73.

#### Ode LI: Ti tung.

140. Ch'ung chao k'i yü 56.

A. Mao: ch'ung 57 = 58 'to the end'. Ch'ung ch'ao = chung chao 'to the end of the morning, all through the morning', which occurs e. g. in ode 226, phr. 59. Thus: \*All through the morning it will rain \*. Mao evidently considers 57 \*dz'iông as cognate to 58 \*tiông. As par. has been adduced Shu: Kün Shī 60 (orthodox version): »It will finally land in misfortune», for which the Ma Jung version reads 61 (yet Ma interprets this 57 differently, see B below). Further Kyü: Ch'u yü 62: »He thinks of earlier ages which are ch'ung ended and t'i eliminated (Wei Chao: 57 = 58); yet here some scholars interpr.: "He thinks of things that in earlier ages ch'ung were exalted and then t'i eliminated, so the par. is not safe. Lao 63, certain versions read 64. — B. Another school. Erya has an entry: c h 'u n g 57 = 65 'full, to fill', thus: »It will rain a full morning». 57 \*dz'iông would then be cognate to 65 \*t'iông. Cf. Sün: Fu p'ien 66: \*It flows everywhere to the four seas, it does not (fill a day =) require a whole day, to which Yang Liang 57 = 65. So also Ma Jung interpr. the Shu: Kün Shī passage above 61: »It will fully land in misfortune» (which, however, is much less plausible than 57 = 58, see A above). Further Yili: Hiang yin tsiu li 67: »I am full of wine» (have had enough). — C. Another school. Kung-yang: Hi 31 has a line 68, to which Ho Hiu says: 37 = 69 ch'ung 'double, repeated'; puch'ung chao means (not repeated mornings =) one single morning». Ho thinks that 57 \* $dz'i\hat{o}nq$  is cognate to 69 \*d'iunq (even tone). The Kung-yang phrase ch'ung chao is the same as in our ode here, and if Ho is right, our ode line will mean: »(When the rainbow rises in the West) it will rain for (double =) several mornings». Cf. Tso: Yin 6, phr. 70: »He cuts down and kills them, and he collects them and a c c u m u l a t e s (heaps) them ». The 69 \*d'iung (even tone) 'double' is of the same stem as 69 \*d'iung (falling tone) 'heavy', and for 57 in this sense cf. Shu: P'an Keng 71: "The high sovereign greatly then will send down heavy punishment for my crime» (Erya 72); ode 248, phr. 73: »Happiness and emoluments come heavily (amply), to which Mao 72. — That the ch'ung chao 56 of our ode is synon. with the chung chao 59 of ode 226 etc. is obvious, it means one morning, not (double:) several mornings, which eliminates C. As to the etymology of the 57 here, whether = 'ending morning, to the end of the morning' (cognate to 58, A), or 'full morning' (cognate to 65, B) is more doubtful. B is better supported by par. Yet the very existence of the parallel anc. binome chung chao 59 speaks in favour of A.

#### Ode LII: Siang shu.

141. Siang shu yu p'i 74.

A. Mao: s i a n g 75 = 76, thus: \*Look at the rat, it has its skin \*. Cf. ode 165, phr. 77: \*Look at that bird \*. — B. Another interpr. Several later comm. take s i a n g to be a place name, and s i a n g s h u = 'the Siang rat', a particular kind of big rat. Thus: \*The Siang rat has its skin \*. — No reason whatever to abandon A.

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# 142. Jener wuch i 78.

A. Mao: chī 79 = 80 'where he settles down and rests', thus: A man who (has no settling =) is unsettled. Cf. ode 303, phr. 81: Where the people settles. (comes to rest). — B. Cheng: chī 79 = 82 'deportment, demeanour, dignity', as in Li: Yüe ling 83: If there are such who are not careful about their demeanour. Thus: A man without demeanour. Similarly Han (ap. Shīwen): chī 79 = 84 'restraint, moderation, good behaviour'. Cf. Sün: Ta lüe 85: He filled his desires, yet did not (err in =) fail in his moderation. (careful behaviour); Sün: Pu kou 86: If he (the sage) is followed (if his counsels are followed, i. e. if he is in office), he is respectful and courteous. — The par. lines in st. 1 and 3: phr. 87, 88, decide for B. — We should compare further: Ode 195. Kuo sue i mi chī 89.

A. Mao: m i c h ī 90 = 91 \*expresses that it is small\*, thus: \*Though the state is small\*. This enigmatic Mao gloss has been differently expounded. K'ung: m i c h ī 90 'has no settling-place', hence = 'small'. Ma Juei-ch'en: c h ī 92 must here mean 'big', hence m i c h ī = 'small'; but c h ī 92 has no such meaning (no text whatever). — B. Cheng c h ī 92 = 93 'decorum', thus: \*Though there is no decorum in the state \*. C h ī 92 then taken = j u n g c h ī 82, as in ode 52 above. — C. Chu: c h ī 92 = 94, thus: \*Though the state (has no settling =) is unsettled\* (as A in ode 52 above). Cf. ode 185, phr. 95: \*Nowhere to settle and rest\*, 96: \*Nowhere to come and settle\*. — The par. in ode 185 decides in favour of C; the phr. m i c h ī 90 in the line 89 is obviously a briefer formulation of the same idea as in 95 and 96.

Ode 255. Ki k'ien er chī 97. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng: 98 'You have no settling', thus: "You have erred in your settling" = "you are unsettled" (as A in ode 52 above). — B. Chu: chī 92 = j ung chī 82: "You have erred in your demeanour" (as B is ode 52 above). — B is obviously right.

Ode 256. Shu shen er chī 99. A. Mao: chī 92 = 100 'to come to'. This curious gloss is filled out by a clearer exegesis: \*the one who is prince 1 rests in benevolence, the one who is subject 2 rests in reverence etc. Thus Mao's idea is: \*Be well careful about what you rest in \*. — B. Cheng: chī 92 = jung chī 82, thus: \*Be well careful about your demeanour. — Since the foll. line is 3: \*Do not err in your deportment\*, B is clearly preferable.

Ode 198. Fei k'i chī kung 4. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng, in his ode comm., says nothing of chī 92, and comments: 5; in his comm. to Li: Tsī yi, he is more explicit, paraphrasing the line 6: "They do not rest in reverentially doing their duty".

— B. Ch'en Huan: chī 92 is simply the "empty particle" (as often in Shī), and chī kung 7 is equal to kung chī 8, inverted because of the rime. — C. Ma Juei-

ch'en: Han Shī wai chuan quotes 9, and chī 92 means 'of good demeanour, courteous' (as in the odes above), thus: •They are not courteous and respectful •. Ma adduces as par. Sün: Pu kou 86 (see above): •...he is respectful and courteous ». — C is best supported.

#### Ode LIII: Kan mao.

143. St. 1. Su sī pi chī 10.

St. 2. Susītsuchī 11.

St. 3. Susīchuchī 12.

A. Mao: pi 13 (\*b'jər / b'ji / pi) = 14 'that by which one (weaves, braids) makes cords'. Similarly Han (ap. Yu p'ien): pi 13 = 15 'implement for (weaving =) making cords'; evidently some tool by which the strands were kept in position and in good order while worked into a string. No text par. Here the word is used as a verb (followed by 16). Mao: chu 17 (\* $\hat{t}i\delta k / t \sin k / chu$ ) = 18 (\* $\hat{t}i \rightarrow k / t \sin k / ch\bar{i}$ ) 'to weave, braid, plait'. No text par., Mao building simply on sound similarity:  $\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$  loan for  $\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$ . Mao refers the line to the reins of the horses, connected with the foll. lines 19, thus: st. 1: »With white silk one has pi chī (corded it =) made the cords, the fine horses have four of them »; st. 2: »With white silk one has tsuch i (corded it =) made the cords, the fine horses have five of them; st. 3: With white silk one has chuchī (plaited =) made (the cords), the fine horses have six of them ». — B. Cheng (about p i 13) says: 20: The white silk, from that one makes threads in order to sew b orders on the pendants on banners». Cheng reads 13 \*b'iār / b'iie / pi (Shïwen), the reading of the char. when meaning 'a decorative border' (common: Li: Yü tsao, Li: Tsa ki, Erya = 21 'ornament'). Cheng further says c h u 17 (\* $\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$  /  $\hat{t}siuk$  / c h u) is loan char. for 22 (\*tiuk / tsiwok / c h u) 'to apply, to attach', cf. Chouli: Yang yi 23 'to apply (put on) medicine'. Cheng refers the lines to the first lines of the stanzas: 24 'the mao flag. (ox-tail flag) — the y ü flag — the tsing flag', thus st. 1: With white silk one has pich i braided it.; st. 2: . With white silk one has tsuch i corded it.; st. 3: With white silk one has chu chī made attachments to it. The foll. lines about the horses then have to be construed differently from Mao: 19: »Fine horses — one has four of them, etc. — B is preferable, since there are text par. both for p i 13 = 'decorative border' and for  $c \hat{h} u 17 = 22 =$  'to apply, to attach'.

144. Pich'u chê tsī 25.

A. Mao: ch'u 26 = 27 compliant, gentle'. Cf. Chuang: Sü wu kuei 28: "There are the compliant ones" (who are easily impressed and follow others). — B. Chu: ch'u 26 = 29 'beautiful'. Cf. ode 42, phr. 30, where Mao, as well, says ch'u 26 = 29, also Han (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) ch'u = 'beautiful'. Shuowen has the variants 31 and 32 (quoting this ode), both = 'beautiful'. Ch'u 26 = 'beautiful' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). Cf. Yin-wen-tsī 33: "He said detractingly that his son was not beautiful". — We have here the same double aspect of the word: 'compliant': 'beautiful' as in 34, gloss 120 above (pliable > compliant; and pliable > delicate, tender, beautiful). Mao has preferred 'compliant' in this ode, because it is here an attribute of a gentleman and not a lady: compliant, affable.

#### Ode LIV: Tsai ch'i.

K'ü ma yu yu, see gl. 90.

**145.** Ta fu po shê *35*.

A. Mao: po 36 = 37 'to walk in herbs', shê 38 = 39 'to walk in water'. Thus: »A dignitary has walked in the grass (i. e. on unbeaten tracks) and across rivers ». Cf. Tso: Siang 28, phr. 40: »To trudge and wade over mountains and rivers ». This po

shê 41 'to trudge and wade' has then secondarily become a mere binome without reference to water: 'to trudge and cross', e. g. in Tso: Chao 12, phr. 42: \*To trudge and cross mountains and forests \*. Therefore Han (ap. Shīwen) to our ode says: 43 'to cross without following roads and paths is called po-shê'. This gloss does not mean: 'to wade without following roads and paths', for we find nearly the same formulation 44 in Kao Yu's comm. to Huai: Siu yu 42: \*To trudge and cross mountains and forests \* (no question of water). For po 36 = 'to trample, to trudge' cf. further ode 160, phr. 46: \*The wolf tramples on his dewlap \*. — B. Ts'i (ap. Cheng's comm. to Yili: P'ingli) reads 47, and says po 48 = 49 'the sacrifice to the (spirit of the) road', thus: \*A dignitary has sacrificed to the road (i. e. started upon a journey) and waded across the water \*. Cf. ode 245, where po 48 has this meaning. — The existence of po-shê as a binome is so well established by par. that B, which takes po and shê as two quite separate ideas ('to sacrifice' and 'to wade') is excluded. Our line therefore simply means: \*A dignitary has trudged and crossed \* (sc. difficult regions, woods, hills, rivers).

146. Pu neng süan tsi 50.

A. Mao:  $t ext{ s i } 51 = 52$  'to stop, cease'. Cf. Shu: Hung fan 53, which is rendered 54 by Shī ki: Sung shī kia, and in Cheng's version of the Shu:  $t ext{ s i } 51 = 55$  'rain ceasing' (sky clearing), cf. Erya 56. Further Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 57: \*When the violent wind ceases \*; Huai: T'ien wen 58: \*When the great wind ceases \*; Huai: Lan ming 59: \*When the wind ceases, the waves stop \*. — B. Chu:  $t ext{ s i } 51 = 60$  'to ford' (common). — The stanza as a whole is referred by Mao to the speaker's  $t ext{ h i n k i n g.}$  \*You disapprove of me, 61 but I cannot deflect (my thoughts); I regard you as in the wrong, 62 but my thoughts cannot keep far away; you disapprove of me, 50 but I cannot deflect and cease (my thoughts); I regard you as in the wrong, 63 but my thoughts cannot be stopped \*. Chu takes the 1 st. and the 3rd (but not the 2nd and the 4th) line to refer concretely to the return journey: \*You disapprove of me, 61 and I cannot return (to Wei); I regard you as in the wrong, 62 and my thoughts cannot forget (64); you disapprove of me, 50 and I cannot turn and ford (return across the stream); I regard you as in the wrong, 63 and my thoughts cannot be stopped \*. Mao's interpr. is more consistent and clearly preferable.

147. K'ung yü ta pang 65.

A. Mao: k' u ng 66 = 67 'to pull, draw towards oneself', thus: \*I draw (help) from a great state\*. Cf. ode 78: k' u ng 66 = 'to pull in' (sc. a horse); Lü: Shen fen lan 68: \*to pull in the reins\*. But in Tso: Siang 8, phr. 69, this will be strained: \*There is

共止,匪其止恭《素絲紕之》素絲組之及素絲视之及紕《所以織組也及織組器 《之口祝《織》良馬四之。良馬五之。良馬六之。康絲者以為纏以縫紕旌旗之旒緣》 節之屬25祝藥《孑孑干旄。孑孑干旗。孑孑干旌。如彼妹者子以姝以順以有暖株者如 美知靜女其姝以效又絲 55毀其子不姝美,婉如大夫跋涉以跋京草行 53岁,水行 知跋涉山川《跋涉《跋涉山林和不由蹊遂而涉回跋涉《不從广遂回跋涉《狼跋 其胡勿大夫戰涉及敕《道祭四不能旋濟勿濟及止以曰雨曰霽《曰濟公而止《濟 謂之霽。57属風濟及大風濟の風濟而波麗《渡《不能旋反《我思不遠《我思不閱 《建·忘。5 控于大郑《控公引《控其學《無所控告》陳》赴及控於地以投》地高 nobody from whom to draw (help) and to whom to announce». Therefore Ch'en Huan thinks Mao meant 67 in the Erya sense of 70 'to extend' = 'to lay out, display': 1 have displayed (my difficulties) to a great state. This would suit the Tso ex. better: There is nobody to whom to display and announce. But for k'ung 66 ='to extend, display' there is no text par. whatever. — B. Han (ap. Chung king yin yi): k' u n g 66 = 71 'to hasten to', thus: »I have hastened to a great state» (to make appeal). So then also the Tso ex. 69: There is nobody to whom to hasten and announce». For this cf. Chuang: Siao yao 72 \*to throw down on the earth \*, to which Si-ma Piao (3rd c.): 66 = 73 'to throw'; Kuan: Tu ti 74: \*(When the ground is low, the water flows calmly), when the ground is high, it hurls itself \* (= 73). Now 73 'to throw oneself' quite regularly means 'to hasten to' (hurriedly make an appearance, Mand. 75 'to appear before court'), and 65 is then = 76: I have (thrown myself to =) hastened to a great state. Similarly 69: "There is nobody to whom to (throw myself =) hasten and announce. — c. Chu: k' u n g 66 = 77 'to hold and tell it', evidently meaning: »I have held it up to (exposed it) to a great state». For k'ung = 'to hold' no text par. whatever. — B is both supported by text par. and suits the Tso ex. as well as our ode; hence it is preferable.

148. Shuei yin shuei ki 78.

A. Mao: k i 79 = 80 'to arrive, to come to', thus: \*Whom shall I rely on, to whom shall I go \*. Cf. Kyü: Lu yü 81: \*If in Ts'i you (yoke your horses =) start in the morning, in the evening you will arrive in Lu \*; Kyü: Tsin yü 82: \*To come to this \*; Huai: Shuo lin 83: \*Though by different roads (sc. land and water), his coming (arriving) is the same \*; Huai: Miu ch'eng 84: \*Then the phoenix and the unicorn will arrive \*; Ch'u: Chao hun 85: \*Nowhere to go \*; etc. (common). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: k i 79 = 86 = 87 'to punish', thus: \*Whom shall I depend on, who shall exact punishment (on my account) \*. Cf. Erya 88, where one version (ap. K'ung's comm. to ode 300) reads 89. Cf. also Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 90, to which Shīwen 86, variant 79. — B has to take the 1st shue i 91 as object (whom), the 2nd as subject (who), which is very far-fetched. No reason whatever to abandon A.

### Ode LV: K'i yü.

149. Chan pi K'i yü 92.

A. Mao: y  $\ddot{u}$  93 = 94 'cove in a river bank', thus: \*Look at that cove of the K'i\*. Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) has the var. 95, and Erya and Shuowen write the word 96 — all the same meaning. The fundamental sense of the word stem \*'iôk | 'iuk | y  $\ddot{u}$  was 'to conceal, hidden' (in that sense wr. 96 e. g. in Kyü: Cheng yü, Chuang: T'ien hia; wr. 93 in Kyü: Chou yü), and it is the same stem as 93 \*'ôg | 'âu | a o 'south-west corner of the house' (= the recess, the hidden corner). — B. Another school: y  $\ddot{u}$  93 = 'name of a river', thus: \*Look at those K'i and Yü\*. So Chang Hua in Po wu chī (3rd c. A. D.) as quoted in Shuei king chu, reading this ode with 95; so also Lu Ki (3rd c.) (ap. Shīwen), reading 93. Liu Chao (6th c.) says Yü was a tributary to K'i. — In the absence of early text par. for this river name, there is no reason to abandon the old schools (A).

150. Lüchu yi yi 97.

Lü 綠.

A. Mao: l ü 98 = 99 'royal fodder' — name of a plant of uncertain kind. Thus: •The royal fodder and the creepers are luxuriant •. Mao considers 98 \*liuk / liwok / l ü 'green' as loan char. for the homophonous 100. Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) and Lu (ap. Erya comm. and Shuowen) quote the ode with 100, Erya 100 = 99. The word 100 occurs in Ch'u: Li sao. — B. Another school takes l ü c h u in the ordinary sense of the

characters, thus: \*The green bamboos are luxuriant\*. So already Pan Piao (1st. c. A. D.), who in a poem (ap. Yi wen lei tsü) says I: \*I regard the garden grove of the cove of K'i, and I admire the luxuriance of the green bamboos\*. Chu has followed this lead, and says 1 ü 98 = 'green'; but in ode 226, phr. 2, where 'green' would make no sense (\*the whole morning I gather the green\*), he has followed the old schools and says 98 = 99! Cf. also Li Tao-yüan below. Chu %7.

A. Mao: c h u 3 (\* $ti\delta k$  / tiuk / c h u) = 4, a kind of creeper (Polygonum?), also wr. 5 (\* $ti\delta k$  / tiuk / c h u, Shuowen) and 6 (\* $ti\delta k$  / tiuk / c h 'u, Erya). Han (ap. Shiwen) in this ode has the var. 7 (\*dik / diuk / duok / t u), again defined as = 5. — B. Another school, as stated above (Pan Piao and Chu) takes c h u 3 in its ordinary sense of 'bamboo'. — There is a curious testimony in favour of the old schools, which take l ü and c h u (c h 'u, t u) to be other plants than Pan Piao's \*green bamboo\*. Li Tao-yüan (5th c. A. D.) in his Shuei king chu tells us what he has observed with his own eyes: \*(The K'i river region is much altered since ancient times:), only the \*royal fodder\* and the \*creepers\* are not different from Mao's allusion\*.

A. Mao: fe i 10 = 11 'decorated, ornated', thus: \*There is the elegant lord \*. 10, ordinarily read \*piwor / pjwei / f e i 'square basket', is here read (Shīwen) \*p'iwor / p'jwei / f e i, being loan char. for 12 \*p'iwor 'decorated' (cf. B below). Cf. Chouli: Tsī-jen 13 'variegated' (= 14), read \*p'iwor (Shīwen). — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) read 15, to which Cheng (comm. to Li) says 16, as A. Cf. ode 200, phr. 17, to which Mao: t s' i f e i 18 = 19 'the décor being intertwined' (interlacing pattern), sc. on the embroidery; Lun: Kung-ye Ch'ang 20 'ornately elegant'. — C. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 21 (Kuang yün \*pied / pji / p i), defined as = 22 'beautiful', thus: \*There is the beautiful lord \*. No text par. — C is unsupported and inferior to B (A). 152. Ju c h o j u m o 23.

A. Mao reads so; thus: \*As if carved (chiselled), as if polished \*. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) have the same version (Ts'i var. 24). — B. Han (ap. Yülan) reads 25, which (because of the rimes) must be an erroneous inversion of 26. It is true that Han shī wai chuan quotes the line as 23 (like A), but this is probably a later correction of the Wai chuan text after Mao. The ts'o 27 here probably means 'to rub, to grind', thus: \*As if rubbed, as if polished \*. Cf. ode 184, phr. 28: \*The stones of other hills can be made into whet-stones \*, to which Mao: 27 = 'a stone with which one can 29 (carve =) work jade \*. 27 is here loan char. for 30 (Lu ap. Kao Yu comm. to Huai reads ode 184 thus: 31). In the same way 27 is loan char.

則控於投案以投于大年7.持而告之內離因誰極內極的至以齊朝駕則夕極於魯國 及極於此點雖異路所極一也以則鳳麟極矣於無所極些的極以蘇內極縣的極終的 極縣于羽山以離短瞻假淇奧內奧魚隈亦澳《陶內綠竹猗猗如綠內王問的最《瞻 漢奧之團林美綠竹之猗猗。終朝采錄》竹。薦竹。高茲。高蓋。蕩。惟王吳編 草不異毛興,有匪君子心匪以文章兒也變以匪色以變色以有變君子以有文章兒 刀妻子變并成是貝錦川萋斐以文章相錯必斐然成章以有如君子也美致如琛如磨 24摩公如磨如錯24如錯如磨如錯24他山有石可以為錯25环玉30層31可以為曆22 for 30 'whet-stone' in Shu: Yü kung. Cf. also Mo: Ts'in shī 32 'the most whetted (sharpened) ones' (sc. knives). On the other hand, in odes 178, 261, the phr. 33 is defined as 34 'ornated, patterned yoke' by Mao. Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü 35: \*To (adorn with) metal and jade his chariot, and to pattern his garment\*. This sense builds on the common meaning of 27 'to cross': crossing lines = pattern, cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in 36: \*The territories of Ts'in and Han (cross each other =) interlace like an embroidery\*. Our Han ode line here, therefore, might mean: \*As if patterned, as if polished \*. Yet 27 'to grind, rub' is more kindred to the following mo 'to polish' and therefore preferable. — Undecidable whether A or B best repr. the orig. Shī.

153. Sê hi hien hi 37.

Sê 瑟.

A. Mao: sê 38 = 39 'respectful, dignified'. No text par. — B. Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) and Lu (ap. Erya) 40: \*Sê hi hi en hi means awe-inspiring \*. Cf. Ch'u: Kiu pien 41: \*Lugubrious is the air of autumn, it is cold and severe, herbs and trees are shaken and shed their leaves \*. — C. Another interpr.: sê 38 = 'fresh-looking, bright'. For this we must compare ode 239:

Ode 239, st. 2. Sê pi yü tsan 42. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng: sê 38 = 43 'pure and fresh-looking, bright', thus: \*Bright is that jade ladle-handle\*. — B. Shuowen, reading 44, says sê = 'the veins in jade similar to harp-strings', thus: \*Harp-like is that jade ladle-handle\*. — C. Chu: sê 38 = 45 'dense, compact', thus: \*Compact is that jade ladle-handle\*. — D. Another school (ap. comm. to Chouli) reads 46, where 47 \*siwět is loan char. for 38 \*sist.

Ode 239, st. 4. Sê p i t so y ü 48. A. Mao: sê 38 = 49, thus: Numerous are those oaks and y ü trees. — B. Chu: sê 38 = 50, thus: Luxuriant and dense are those oaks and y ü trees. — C. Another interpr.: sê 38 = 'fresh-looking, bright', thus: Fresh-looking are those oaks and y ü trees. — There is strict parallelism between st. 2 and 4, and sê 38 must mean the same in both. This rules out 'harp-like' in st. 2, and 'numerous' in st. 4. For Chu's 'compact' there is no text par., and it is very unnatural in st. 2 (a \*compact\*) jade handle!). The meaning 'pure, fresh-looking, bright' proposed by Cheng in st. 2, is nicely applicable also to st. 4, and, moreover, it will make good sense also in our ode 55 above (phr. 37). Hence it is preferable.

H i e n 51.

A. Mao: hie n 51 (\* $g'\ddot{a}n/\gamma\ddot{a}n/\text{hie n}$ ) = 52 'wide and great' i. e. 'generous'. In support of this Tuan Yü-ts'ai adduces Sün: Jung ju 53: »The narrow-(minded) persons will suddenly become generous». The difficulty is that the meaning of this Sün passage is much contested, see B and C next. If Mao were right, our hie n 51 \*g'an (rising tone) would be cognate to 54 \*g'ăn / yăn / h i e n (even tone) in ode 305, phr. 55: The various pillars are great, and to 56 \*kan/kan/kien 'great' (Shi passim). Cf. Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 57: \*The (one with) great knowledge is large-minded (broad, generous) - exactly the Mao meaning of our 51 here. - B. Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) and Lu (ap. Erya) say 40: \*sê hi hien hi means awe-inspiring \*; Erya variant 58 (ap. Shiwen). This is essentially the same as Shuowen: 51 = 59, martial-looking (quoting this ode). 51 is then taken to be loan char, for the homophonous (\* $q'\ddot{a}n$ ) 58 (see the Erya variant), coll. current in the sense of 60 'fierce, violent' in W. Han time (Fang yen). Cf. Tso: Chao 18, phr. 61: "He fiercely (with angry determination) armed them and made them go up on the parapet». The Sün passage 53 above has also been so taken by Yang Liang (T'ang time): \*The vile person will suddenly become (fierce =) valorous (awe-inspiring)»; Yang expressly asserts that 51 here stands for 58. — C. Han (ap. Shīwen): h i e n 51 = 62 beautiful. This in reality means that 51 is loan char. for the homophonous (\*g'ăn |  $\gamma$ ăn | h i e n) 63, defined as 64 'refined' in Shuowen, and

common in Han time texts (e. g. Sin shu: Tu chī 65: Han shu: Sī-ma Siang-ju chuan 66; and, particularly interesting, Sin shu: Tao shu 67: \*In deportment and mind to understand the Tao, that is called hien refined; the opposite to hien is ye rustic\*). This hien again is etym. the same as 54 (\* $g'\check{a}n$ ) = 68 'to train (Shī), cultivate, cultivated, refined', cf. Lü: Shī jung lun 69 'refined' (where the phonetic in the graph is 54 and not 70). Some authors (e. g. Ch'en K'iao-tsung) take the Sün passage 53 above in this sense: \*The vulgar person will suddenly become refined\*.

Let us sum up: our line sê hi hien hi (37) in ode 55 might mean either:

- a. With Mao: \*How dignified, how generous \* only the 2nd member supported by par.;
- $\beta$ . With Ts'i and Lu: \*How severe, how (fierce =) awe-inspiring \* both members well supported by par.;
- $\gamma$ . »How fresh-looking (bright), how refined (beautiful)». both members well supported by par.

The choice is between  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , the  $\alpha$  being less well supported. If we leave out the Sün passage, the meaning of which is contested, the only sense in which the char. 51 itself (with rad. 9) is attested in real texts (even though they are of Han date) is the  $\gamma$  sense: 51 = hien ya 65 'refined'. This speaks in favour of  $\gamma$ . And  $\gamma$  is the only interpr. which allows us to obtain a meaning of sê 38 applicable both here and in ode 239, stanzas 2 and 4 (phr. 42, 48). This decides definitely for  $\gamma$ . 154. Ho hi hüan hi 71.

A. Mao: h  $\ddot{u}$  an 72 (\* $\gamma iw\ddot{a}n$  /  $\gamma iwon$  / h  $\ddot{u}$  an) = 73 'dignity and deportment being (displayed =) conspicuous', thus: »How imposing, how conspicuous». Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) reads 74 \*xiwăn, also defined, by the Ta hüe text itself, as = 75 'dignified'. Again, Lu (ap. Erya) reads 76 \* yiwan, same definition 75 (when the Lu school work Lie nü chuan quotes 72, this is a later corr. after Mao). Mao's gloss shows that he connects etymologically 72 \*xiwan and 77 \*siwan 'to spread out, display', cf. B. below. But the two can hardly be cognate. 76 \*\gamma\iv wan is known from the Yi, meaning 'to sun, to warm in the sun' (char. also read \*γįwăr / γįwig / h u e i 'sunlight', Chouli, variation of the same stem), and the fundamental sense of our stem \*xiwan may therefore be 'blazing, bright, brilliant', hence 'conspicuous'. 72 is then a loan char. for 76, and 74 is a mere variation of 72, just as Lie: Yang Chu has 78 'the warmth of the sun', where 79 is a variation of 76. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 80, in which 77 \*siwan / siwan / s ü a n = '(to spread out =) to display, conspicuous'; the meaning of the line very near to A. — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 81, where  $82 * \gamma i w \bar{n} / \gamma i w \bar{n} / h$  ü a n = 83 'a generous and refined mind'. No text par. — Undecidable whether \*χiwăn (76, 72, 74) 'brilliant, conspicuous' or \*siwan (77) 'displayed, conspicuous' best repr. the orig. Shī.

其錯錯者33錯倫以文衡改金玉其車文錯其服以秦韓之地相錯如編 5瑟芳僩芳及瑟以矜莊《瑟芳僩芳恂悚《悲哉秋之為氣也讓瑟芳草木搖落《瑟假玉纜《氣解兒 短被在玉纜《顧宏兒《如彼玉纜《如《瑟彼林楼《泉云茂密云僩云霓大云陋者依且僩云阅云旅楹有隔云筒云大知闲闲云撊云武兒《猛《惆然授兵登陴《美《烟《雅公明僩雅以道之文《雍容媚雅《谷志畜道謂之僩及僩為野《闲習《烟雅》間》称芳喧芳及喧云威儀容止宣著《喧云感儀》短 双宣 双目之短刃炮

155. Lüchutsing tsing 84.

A. Mao: tsing tsing 85 = 86, thus: The royal fodder and the creepers are luxuriant. This means that Mao takes it to be loan char. for 87, as in ode 176, phr. 88: \*Luxuriant is the artemisia\*, and ode 119, phr. 89: \*Its leaves are luxuriant. Therefore Shīwen, in our ode here, reads \*tsieng | tsieng | tsing, and records 87 as variant. In the same way, in ode 233, phr. 90 is taken to be loan for 89, as in ode 119. — B. Another interpr. would be to read 85 \*ts'ieng | ts'ieng | ts'ing, the ordinary reading of the char., thus: \*The royal fodder and the creepers are very green\*. Cf. ode 91, phr. 91: \*Green is your collar\*, and passim. (So Legge has done in ode 233, but not here!). The reason why Mao has not done so is obvious: phr. 89 has influenced his reading of phr. 90, and this latter his reading of the present ode. — It may be safest to follow Mao, as representing the oldest tradition attainable.

156. Kuei pien ju sing 92. Kuei is \*kwâd/kuâi/kuei (Shīwen).

A. Mao: 93: pien is a leathern cap, by which one (joins =) keeps together the hair ». Thus: "The (joining =) hair-fastening leather-cap is star-like (very brilliant), 93 in the reading \*kwâd / kuâi / k u e i and with the meaning 'to put together, join, add up' (sc. accounts) is common (Li, Chouli, Meng), and this 'to join' (of the same stem as the ordinary 93 \*g'wâd / yuâi / h u e i 'to collect' etc.) would then be the etymology here. Later comm., influenced by the Shuowen definition (see B below), think that the Mao gloss is corrupted and should run 94: \*pien is the leathern cap; kuei is that by which one keeps together the hair - the first 93 (short-form for 95) being lost. But this arbitrary correction is inadmissible: Mao always glosses the words in the order they appear in the ode, and if there were a kuei dropped, his gloss should run: 96. There are two other classical passages which are closely related to our phrase here; one of them is of contested interpr. a. Chouli: Pien shī 97. If translated in the spirit of Mao's gloss above, this would mean: As to the king's leathern cap, there is (joined hair =) a chignon in five colours (sc. with strings in five colours), jade attachments, ivory base and jade pin. This tallies with Cheng Chung's (1 st c. A. D.) gloss: k u e i 93 = 98'with five colours to bind the hair' (the var. 99 is recorded in Cheng Hüan's comm.). β. Yili: Shī sang li 100: \*For the (joined hair =) chignon, one uses strings, and then applies the pin » (var. 1 recorded in Cheng Chung's comm. to the Chouli passage above). This fundamental sense of \*kwâd (2) = 'to join the hair into a chignon, bind it together' would then be cognate, not only to the ordinary 93 \*g'wâd 'to unite, collect', but also to 3 \*kwât / kuât / k u o 'to bind'. The variants 4 for the word \*kwâd 'to join the hair into a chignon' simply are due to the fact that the chignon, after being wound. was fastened with a pin of bone or wood. — B. Han (ap. Shuowen and Yü p'ien) quotes the ode: 5. Shuowen: 99 \*kwâd = 6 'a bone pin which can (join =) keep together the hair'. Thus our ode line: "The hair-pin and the leathern cap are star-like (very brilliant). This interpr., however, fails to satisfy the par. passages: Chouli 97 would make: As to the king's leathern cap, there is kuei a pin, jade attachments in five colours, ivory base and ki a pin »; thus there will be one 'pin' too many! And the Yili passage 100: »As to the kuei pin, one uses strings, and then fastens the ki pin » will make sheer nonsense. We can only conclude that Hü Shen has misunderstood 95, thinking it was a kind of pin, because of the extra radical, inst. of the verb stem 'to join, tie together, make a chignon'. — C. Cheng: 7 'kuei means the cap's seams, one decorates them with jade'. 2 \*kwâd / kuâi / kuei is then = junctures, where the slips, from which the cap is made, join. Thus the ode: "The seamed cap is star-like». In acc. with this Cheng expounds the Chouli passage 97: \*As to the king's leathern cap, the seams have jade attachments in five colours, there is an ivory base and jade pin »; and he adds: »to each seam are fastened 12 jades in 5 colours ». His interpr. might still be applicable to the Yili passage 100: \*For the seams one uses strings and then applies the ki pin \*. But it fails in Yili: Shī sang li &: \*For the seams and the ki pin one uses mulberry wood \* would make no sense; the phrase means (with A above:): \*For the ki pin of the kuei (joined hair =) chignon one uses mulberry wood \*. Similarly in Sün: Li lun 9: \*Immediately efter he is dead, one washes him, ties the hair into a knot (makes a chignon) and cuts the nails \*. Here kuei cannot possibly mean 'seams' of a cap! Cheng therefore must consider the 10 of the Chouli and Shī passages and the 11 of the Yili and Sün passages as two different words, which is obviously impossible: their identity was already correctly realized by Cheng Chung. — D. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. to Lü) reads 12: \*The kuan cap and the pien cap are star-like\*. Since kuan and pien were two entirely different caps, and the prince described so vividly could not wear them simultaneously, this is evidently a text corruption. — The A interpr. alone satisfies the par. passages and is preferable.

157. Lüchujuts de 13.

A. Mao: tsê 14 = 15 'accumulated, dense'. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) same expl. Thus: \*The royal fodder and the creepers are as if accumulated (heaped) \*. It is doubtful whether Mao meant that 14 is a mere loan char. for 15 and should straightout be read tsi (\*tsiěk) in this ode, or he meant that the char. 14 \*tsěk / tsek / tsê 'bed mat' (see B below) was used as loan char. for a \*tsěk 'accumulated' which was cognate to the phonetically similar 15 \*tsiěk / tsidk / tsi. Chang Heng († 139 A. D., Lu school) in his ode Si king fu has a kindred phrase 16: \*The fragrant plants are as if accumulated (heaped) \*, where the char. is 15, tsi. — B. Chu seizes upon Shuowen's definition 17: tsê = 'bed mat' (chan means 'matting, shed' etc.), cf. Li: T'an kung 18 'a dignitary's bed mat'. Thus: \*The royal fodder and the creepers are like a mat\* (very dense, covering the ground). This makes good sense and has the advantage of respecting the traditional graph of the ode text, attested both in the Mao and the Han versions; hence it is preferable.

158. K'uan hi ch'o hi 19.

A. Mao: k'u a n 20=21 'able to humour the people'; ch'o 22=23 'leisurely, easy, indulgent'. K'u a n'wide' = 'wide-hearted, magnanimous, generous' is common; for ch'o 22 (\* $\hat{t}$ 'iok / ts'iak / ch'o) cf. ode 223, phr. 24: "Generous and indulgent", defined by Mao (after Erya) as =20 'wide', i. e. 'magnanimous, generous'; here defined as = hu a n'slow, leisurely' = 'not pressing, easy, indulgent', a kindred notion. Hence k'u a n - ch'o are practically synonymous; thus our ode line: "How magnanimous, how indulgent". Cf. Shu: Wu yi 25: "You are not making (wide and indulgent")

赫方宣专业赫方恒方在世立宽燗心服完《綠竹青青的青青《茂盛完以菁菁的菁菁者義为其葉菁菁如其葉青青以青青工於北會戶如星以外。皮布所以會髮的會必 允。皮布。會所以會髮如贈水會所以會髮戶。皮有以王之皮弁會腳五采玉蓮眾即玉穿 及以五采束髮也切贈水繁恂用組乃苦芽,槍之會贈塘警 3 括《贈檜。 触戶如星 《胃猶之可以會髮者》會謂弁之缝中飾之以玉、餐穿用桑,始卒沐浴警體》會 贈水譽及五年如星及綠竹如簧水簧、顶積《芳草如積以貨、掛棧《大夫之簧》宽方 維节如電、能容果及維如緩紅維維有裕公不電維厥心及維維然及維千私電方據 gent =) generous your heart \*; Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, hia 26: \*Freely, unrestrained \*; Chuang: Ta tsung shī 27, also defined as = k'uan 'generously'. — B. Han (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) reads 28, the 29 defined as = 30 'soft, gentle', thus: \*How magnanimous, how gentle \*. This 29 is the word (rad. 'woman') for which 31 (rad. 'water') serves as loan char. in Chuang: Siao yao yu 32: \*Soft and (restrained =) timid as an unmarried girl \*, here also read (Shīwen) \* $\hat{t}$ 'iok /  $t\hat{s}$ 'iak / ch'o. Similar ex. Sün: Yu tso. — The A version, besides being supported by ode 223, is strongly corroborated by the Shu par. adduced, showing k'uan-ch'o to be a fixed binome (of kindred notions), and therefore preferable.

159. Yi ch'ung küe hi 33. Mao and Cheng have no gloss.

A. Chu: y i 34 is an exclamation: \*Oh! the double up-turned side-bars of his carriage! \*A gala car of the dignitaries had raised side-bars 35, which in front were turned up into two \*hooks \* 36 (Shuowen 37). For y i 34 as an interjection cf. ode 106, phr. 38: \*Oh! how ample \*\*, where Mao says y i ts "" e = 'an exclamation'. Similarly Ky": Tsin y" 39, etc. — B. A version 41 was widely current: so in Huang K'an's comm. to Lun, Yang Liang's to S"", Li Shan's to Ws"" an, K'ung's to Yili. Thus: \*He leans upon the double up-turned side-bars. Indeed the w. 'side-bar' 35 \*'ia / ig/y i (ex. in Ts'ê: Chao ts'ê etc.) is etym. id. with 42 \*'ia / ig/y i 'to lean upon' and means simply 'elbow-rest'. — B is evidently the correct version. It is easy to see how an erroneous 34 (a char. with many meanings) has crept into the Mao text instead of the 42: in the 1st st. of the ode we find 43: \*The royal fodder and the creepers are luxuriant \*. This graph 34 has been wrongly carried over also into our st. 3.

### Ode LVI: K'ao p'an.

160. K'ao p'an tsai kien 44.

K'aop'an 考 槃

**A.** Mao (after Erya) k' a o 45 = 46 'to complete, achieve', p' a n 47 = 48 'joy', thus: .He achieves his joy in the stream-valley. For k'ao 45 (a char. with many meanings) = 'to achieve' cf. Ch'un ts'iu: Yin 5, phr. 49: \*In the ninth month, they completed Chung-tsi's temple, to which Ku-liang: k' a o 45 = 46; ode 174, phr. 50: »In the principal chamber we achieve (finish)», sc. the feast; Kyü: Yüe yü 51: »Shang-ti does not achieve (your undertaking), wait until the suitable time returns»; Shu: Lo kao 52: »I will make complete the pattern (example) for my bright son »; Li: Li yün 53: "Thereby achieving (realizing, fulfilling) their sincerity"; Tso: Siang 15, phr. 54: "If your humble servant can achieve (fulfil) his task»; etc. (common). P'an 47 = 48 joy', cf. Erya 55. Both these graphs are here interchangeable with 56, all alike read \* $\dot{b}$ 'wân /  $\dot{b}$ 'uân / p' a n: For Mao's  $\dot{b}$ 7, Han (ap. Shīwen) and Ts'i (ap. Han shu) have 58, likewise paraphr. by 59 'to achieve the joy' by Pan Ku (Ts'i school). For Erya's 60 there is a var. 56 (Li Shan comm. to Wsüan). The ode 296 has the title P'an 60, interpr. by Mao as = 'joy'. Cf. Sün: Chung-ni 61: "In the harem there was amusement and extravagance»; Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang 62: »They amuse themselves and are lazy». For 56 'joy', cf. Shu: Wu yi 63: »Wen wang did not dare to amuse himself in trips and hunts»; Shu: Ts'in shī 64: »Much joy (amusement)». Both 47 and 56 \*b'wan properly mean 'basin, tray' (etym. both same word, the former char. esp. for ritual vessels, the latter for ordinary vessels), and are used as loan char. for the homophonous \*b'wan 'joy, amusement'. 60 properly means 'to turn round' (for which, again, 56 is sometimes borrowed), in the same way used as loan char. for the homophonous 'joy'. Thus our ode line 44 = " He achieves his joy in the stream-valley" is well supported by text par. (observe particularly ode 174, phr. 50, where k'a o means 'to achieve, complete a feast'). — B. Chu: k'ao 45 = 46 'to achieve' (as A), p'an 47 = 65 'to turn round, hesitate, draw back', and this phr. 'he achieves his drawing-back' Chu expounds 66: \*He completes (builds) his retirement's house (hermit's house) \*. This wild speculation has been accepted by Legge! — C. Chu adduces an earlier interpr. as an alternative worth considering: k' ao 45 = 67 'to beat', p' a n 47 = 68 'name of a vessel', thus: \*He beats (drums on) his basin in the stream-valley \*. Cf. Chuang 69: \*To drum on a bowl and sing \*; ode 136, phr. 70: \*You beat (drum on) your earthen vessel \*. This interpr. thus has good par., and k' a o 45 = 'to beat' is common in this very sense, cf. ode 115, phr. 71: \*You do not drum on them, you do not strike them \* (sc. bells and drums). And 'basin, tray', as stated above, is the primary meaning of both char. 47 and 56. — D. Waley: k' a o p' a n = \*drumming and dancing \*, taking p' a n to mean 'to dance' (cf. gl. 334 below), an unwarranted text alteration. — Though interpr. C is very tempting, because it is simple and concrete, we should not abandon the well-supported tradition of the oldest schools (Erya, Mao, Ts'i).

A. Mao (after Erya) 72 \* kan / kan / k i e n = 73 'mountains hugging water', i. e. a stream in a ravine (common). Thus: He achieves his joy in the stream-valley. - B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 74. There are four interpr. possible of the latter. a. 75 \*kân /  $k\hat{a}n$  / k a n (so Shiwen to ode 189 and to Yi; kua 53, see below) is cognate to and synonymous with 72 \* kan / kan / k i.e.n. Cf. ode 189, phr. 76, to which Mao: 75 = 72; Yi: kua 53, phr. 77, to which Sün Shuang and Wang Su (both 3rd c.) 75 = 78 'ravine river among mountains'.  $\beta$ . A Han school gloss (ap. Shïwen): 75 = 79 'a stony and arid place'; no text par. y. Another gloss professing to come from the Han school (ap. comm. to Wsüan): 80 'soil that is low and has stagnant water is called k a n 75'. That 81 here stands for 82 stagnant water' (so Hu Ch'eng-kung) is made probable by Cheng's gloss to 77 (as quoted in K'ung to ode 189): 83 \*K an means a place with stagnant water at the side of a big (water =) river». No text par. 8. kan 75 often simply means 'river bank', cf. ode 112, phr. 84: »He puts it on the bank of the River»; Kuan: Siao wen 85: \*Wu battled on the river bank \*. This may equally well be applied in our present ode. Thus, for the Han (B) version 74 here we have to choose between: He achieves his joy in the stream-valley.; ». . . on the arid ground »; ». . . by the stagnant water »; ». . . on the river bank ». The first of these agrees with Mao (A) and therefore seems most plausible. — Undecidable whether A: 44 \*kan or B: 74 \*kân (both 'stream-valley') best repr. the orig. Shi. 161. Shijen chik'uan 86.

A. Mao has no gloss and therefore takes k'uan 87 in its ordinary sense of 'wide,

ample, grand' (so also Chu: 87 = 88 'wide'). — **B.** Cheng: 89 \*He k'uan-jan looks empty and exhausted \*. No text par. Perhaps Cheng means that 87 \* k'wan / k'uan / k'uan / k'uan (even tone) is loan char. for <math>90 \* k'wan / k'uan / k'uan / k'uan (rising tone) 'empty, hollow'. Cf. Erya <math>91: \*A tripod with hollow (empty) legs is called li\*; Chuang: Ta sheng 92: \*Empty, void of intelligence \*; 93 \* k'wan 'hollow, cavity, hole' (Chuang etc., common). — To be discussed after gl. 163.

162. Shijen chik'uo 94.

A. Mao: k'u o 95 = 96 'wide and great', thus practically synonymous with the k'u a n of the 1st st. 95 is a hapax legomenon. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 97, defining 98 as = 99 'beautiful'. Likewise a hapax legomenon. — C. Cheng: k'u o 95 = 100 'has the meaning of hungry'. Perhaps Cheng means that k'u o is a loan char. for the homophonous  $1 *k'w\hat{a} / k'u\hat{a} / k$ ' u o, which means 'empty, hollow, cavity' in Meng: Li lou, hia 2: \*It (the water) fills up the empty spaces and then advances \*, and in Yi: Shuo kua 3: \*It (the tree) dries up above the hollow (in the stem) \*. — To be discussed after gl. 163.

163. Shījen chīti 4.

A. Mao: t i 5 (\*d'iôk | d'iek | t i) = 6 'to advance', thus taking 5 (normally read \*d'iôk | d'iuk | c h u 'wheel-axle') to be loan char. for 7 \*d'iôk | d'iek | t i. Cf. ode 257, phr. 8: "He does not seek (sc. office), he does not advance", to which Mao (after Erya) 7 = 6; Shu: Kao yao mo (Yi Tsi) 9: "Each one has advanced and acquired merit". — B. Cheng reads 5 with its ordinary sound (\*d'iok | d'iuk | c h u) and defines it as = 10 'suffering'. Erya has an entry 11 (\*d'iok | d'iuk | c h u) = 10 'to suffer, suffering', and Cheng probably has this in mind, taking 5 to be loan char. for 11 in this Erya sense. But there are no text par. whatever in support of a meaning 'to suffer' for a \*d'iok (5 or 11). — C. Chu: 5 = 12 'to (turn round =) draw back and not go on'. No text par. (Is Chu's idea: 'wheel-axle' = 'to turn round'?). —

In the phrases 161—163, Mao takes 13 all three to be praising epithets: •Oh, the grandness of the great person! Oh, the greatness of the great person! Oh, the (advancing =) prominence of the great person! The seems, to judge by the Han variant in 162 (98 ='beautiful') that the Han school had the same fundamental idea. Cheng, on the contrary, building on the idea of the Wei Hung Preface, that the ode describes a worthy living in poor retirement, takes the three words to denote poverty: \*Oh, the (emptiness =) exhaustion of the great person! Oh, the (hollowness =) hunger of the great person! Oh, the suffering of the great person »! But there is nothing whatever in the ode itself to support the \*recluse \* idea, and no text par. confirm Cheng's word definitions. Mao is far better supported and preferable. In 161 it is impossible to decide between Mao and Han, since both graphs 95 and 98 are hapax legomena. In 163 Chu, as often, presents an absolutely unsubstantiated speculation. — Let it be added that in the 1st lines of the stanzas: 14, Cheng again follows up his \*recluse\* idea: \*Forever he swears he will not forget (the wrong done him by the prince); forever he swears he will not pass on (= go again to court); forever he swears he will not tell (good advice to the prince)». The lines, of course, simply mean: \*Forever he swears he will not forget (me); forever he swears he will not pass away (from me); forever he swears he will not tell (people about our love) ».

# Ode LVII: Shi jen.

164. Yi kin k'iung yi 15. So also in ode 88. Mao's gloss gives no direct expl. of k'iung.

A. Cheng: k'i u n g 16 (\*k'iweng | k'i u n g) = 17 'single (unlined) garment', thus: "She is dressed in an embroidered robe, and a single garment (over it)".

Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Ts'i (ap. Li: Chung yung) read ·18, and this 19 (\*k'iweng / k'iweng / k'i u n g) is defined in Li: Yü Tsao (in the text itself, Ts'i school) thus: 20 'an unlined (tunic) is a k'iung'. Cheng, in his gloss on this passage, says: »having an upper part (y i) and a lower part (s h a n g) but no lining (l i), adding: \*the word is also wr. 21 (\*k'iweng / k'iweng / k'i u n g). This latter variant occurs in Yili: Shī hun li 22: They wear an unlined garment and embroideries (here again Cheng = 17 'unlined garment'). — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 23, the 24 (\*k'iweng) defined as = 'a kind of hemp', thus: »She is dressed in an embroidered robe, and a hemp garment (over it)». Shuowen alternatively quotes the ode like Mao: 25, but then defines 16 as = 24 (i. e. a kind of hemp). Of 24 and 16 = 'a kind of hemp' there are no safe early text ex.; but 21 certainly means this textile plant in Li: Tsa ki 26: \*After the k'iung has been donned, the lien and siang sacrifices might be proceeded with, here k'iung cannot mean 'unlined garment', for the context shows that it is a question of a stuff, replacing the coarse hemp, and the same Cheng who (A above) defined 21 as = 'unlined garment' in Li: Yü Tsao, here says: \*k' i u n g is the name of a plant; in regions where there is no ko dolichos, you use k'i ung when the ma coarse hemp is laid aside». — Thus there is good support through early texts for both the meaning 'unlined garment' and 'a kind of hemp' of the word \*k'iweng (wr. 16, 19, 21). It is therefore probable that the garment in question, an unlined tunic used as a \*slip-over\*, was preferably made of k'iung hemp and hence got its name. 165. Ts'in shou ngo mei 27. Ts'in 28.

A. Mao: t s' i n = 28 (\*dz' i en / dz' i en / t s' i n) = 29 'the forehead being broad and square'. Since this is not a direct definition of the w. t s' i n, Cheng expounds it further: t s' i n = 30 'a small cicada', thus: A cicada's head (sc. forehead broad and square). 31 = 'cicada' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 32, the 33 \*dz' i eng / dz' i ng / t s i ng defined as = 34 'beautiful'. No text par. Cf. however 35 \*dz' i eng / dz' i ng / t s i ng 'pure' (pure forehead = clear, beautiful forehead).

Ngo 蛾.

A. Mao has no gloss, thus taking the word in its ordinary sense: \*Silkworm eyebrows \*. — B. Another school (ap. Yi wen lei tsü and Yülan) reads 36. Similarly, in Ch'u: Li sao, the current editions have 37, but the oldest comm. we possess, Wang Yi (2nd c. A. D.), builds on a version with 36, and defines it ngo = 34 'beautiful'. Cf. Lie: Yang Chu 38: \*The most beautiful of the unmarried girls \*. 39 = 'beautiful' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). In Huai: Siu wu, we also find the phr. 36. — The Mao version (27) with 'cicada' and 'silkworm' lacks the support of early text par., which the version with 32 'beautiful head' and 36, beautiful eyebrows' has at least for the latter word. Yet the parallelism with the similes in the preceding lines decide for

者謂之鬲丸教啓z該《碩人之趙於邁於電大於碩人之過於過於美加鐵重,科之 盈斜而後進 3.科上稿《硕人之軸》軸《進》迪《弗求弗迪,各迪有功心病《巫 《整桓不行》、寬邁軸《永矢弗護》、灰弗遇永矢弗告於衣錦娶衣《娶以禪《衣錦絅 衣外絅《禪為銅》、顧及被額關以衣錦籠衣《說於娶衣《既顯練祥皆行以燒苗蛾 眉以獎《魏廣而方》類類《樂之顆首 31額 34好 255淨 34城 12成 34城 Mao: »Her neck is like the tree-grub, her teeth are like melon-seeds, her head cicadalike, her eyebrows silkworm-like». (As to the 'melon-seed', Mao's 40 \*siər | siei | s i is loan for the 41 \*siər | siei | s i of the Lu version: 'melon's nest' = the interior of the melon, where the white seeds lie in rows like teeth in the mouth).

166. K'iao siao ts'ien hi 42. Shïwen records a variant 43.

A. Mao: t s' i e n 44 (\*ts'iən / ts'ien / t s' i e n) = 45. This 46 is equal to 47 'jaw'. esp. upper jaw, and secondarily the flesh covering that jaw, the cheek (as in Huai: Siu wu 48: »Wonderful teeth appear, the cheek shakes = moves, dimples»). Since the line (42) commences with k'i ao siao 'artfully smiling', Mao's 45 means (with Legge): 'beautiful dimpling cheeks', thus: When she smiles artfully, her cheeks dimple ». This followed and freer expressed by Ma Jung to Lun: Pa yi, where this ode is quoted: 44 = 49 'the appearance of laughing (smiling)'. No text par. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): ts'i en 44 = 50 'greenish (bluish? greyish?) white colour'. — The char. 44 is otherwise only known by being frequently used as a cognomen (t s i) in Han time, and also meaning 'son-in-law'. 43 is earliest known from Cheng's (2nd c. A. D.) comm. to Li: Tsa ki, where it means a plant used for dyeing red; 43 \*ts'ion is thus id. w. 51 \*ts'ion | ts'ion | ts'ien 'Rubia, madder' (Shī ki etc.), and etym. s. w. a. 52 \*ts'iən / ts'ien / ts'ien 'red' (Tso). This goes all directly against the Han school gloss. Probably this is corrupted and 53 is a fault for the similar 54, a variant of 51 (Tsi yun); the gloss would thus be: 55 'reddish white colour'. As to the ode line, we must observe: a. The parallelism with the next line 56: \*Her beautiful eyes are black and white \* (see next gloss) demands that ts'ien should indicate a colour;  $\beta$ . The Han gloss to ts'ien, though probably corrupted, certainly indicates a colour; v. 44 has the var. 43, which latter is amply attested to mean 'red'. We must conclude that 44 here is a mere variant of 43 'red', and that we have to translate: Her artfully smiling (mouth) is red, her beautiful eyes are black and white».

167. Mei mu p'an hi 56.

A. Mao (foll. by Shuowen) p' a n 57 = 58 'white and black (divided =) distinguished', i. e. the black well set off against the white, thus: \*Her beautiful eyes are well-defined black and white. Mao has felt  $57 *p' \varepsilon n / p' \alpha n / p'$  an to be cognate to 59 \*p' w v n / p' u v n / f e n 'to divide', just as 60 \*p w u n / p w u n / p a n '(divided hair =) of a mixed white and black = grizzled' (Meng) may be cognate to the same \* $p'_1 w v n$  'to divide, distinguish' and to our \* $p' \varepsilon n$  here. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): p' a n 57 = 61 'black colour'. — C. Another school (Tsī lin ap. Shīwen): p' a n 57 = 62 'beautiful eyes'. — D. Ma Jung (1st c. A. D.), comm. to Lun: Pa yi: p' a n 57 = 63 'the appearance of moving the eyes'. Cf. Hanfei: Wai ch'u, yu hia 64: \*P' a n - fashion he rolled his eyes \*; yet this par. is not safe, for there are certain reasons to suspect that the text is wrong for 65 'angrily'. — Since there are no reliable early text par. in support of any of these interpr., we have to rest satisfied with Mao's gloss, which may have at least an etym. support.

168. Shuei yü nung kiao 66.

A. Mao has no gloss here, but in ode 16, phr. 67: "That is where the duke of Shao halted", Mao says: 68 (\*\$iwad | \$iwai | s h u e i) = 69 'to lodge, to halt', and this gloss is repeated by Shiwen here. Thus: "She halted in the near suburbs". Variant 70 (Shiwen; comm. to Wsüan), but reading and meaning the same. — B. Cheng: "68 ought to be 71". This 71 (\*\$dziwəd | zwi | s u e i) means 'grave-clothes presented as a gift' (Tso), but Cheng thinks it means here simply: "She dressed in the near suburbs", i. e. she changed her travelling clothes for ritual robes. For this strange speculation there is no other support than Shuowen, which has a char. 72 (\*\$iwad | \$iwai | s h u e i) 'grave-clothes presented as a gift' (thus synon. w. 71). Evidently Cheng thinks 68 (70) of the

text is loan char. for this 72. But of the latter there are no text ex. — No reason whatever to abandon A.

169. Sī mu k'iao k'iao 73.

**A.** Mao: k'iao 74 (\*k'iau / k'iao, Shïwen) = 75 'vigorous, robust', thus: The four steeds are robust. Cf. Lü: Huei kuo 76: »It is all because of the vigour of their spirit and the ampleness of their strength, to which Kao Yu: 77 = chuang 75. Kuang yün 77 \*k'iog / k'iäu / k'iao and \*g'iog / g'iäu / k'iao. Closely cognate to this must be ode 299, phr. 78, to which Mao: 79 (\*kjog / kjau / k i a o, Shīwen) = 80'martial-looking'; Li: Chung yung 81 (\*kiog, Shīwen): \*How vigorous in his strength \*; ode 293, phr. 82 (\*kiog, Shiwen), to which Mao: 83 = 80 'martial-looking'; ode 299, phr. 84 (\*kioq, Shīwen), Mao 83 = 85 'strong and ample'; Sün: Ch'en tao 86 (\*g'iog/  $g'i\ddot{a}u/k$ ' i a o, Ts'ie yün), to which the comm. 87 = 88 'strong'; ode 259, phr. 89 (very similar to our ode line here), to which Mao 83 (\*g'iok / g'iok / k ü e, Shīwen) = chuang 75. Thus we have this word 'strong, robust, vigorous, martial' well attested in four different aspects of the stem: \*kiog:k'iog:g'iog:g'iok. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) defines 74 (\* $kioq / ki\ddot{a}u / k$  i a o, Ts'ie y\u00fcn) as = 'horse which is 6 feet high', thus: \*The four steeds are high (tall)\*. Shuowen, it is true, quotes an ode passus 90 which is different both from our line here and from that in ode 163, phr. 91, and may be drawn from a lost ode; but it is obvious that the w. 74 as describing a horse is the same in our ode as in that of Shuowen. The fundamental sense is here simply 'high'. 74 \*kiog 'high' is mostly used figuratively: 'haughty, arrogant' (common), but we also find the same stem concrete: ode 102, phr. 92 (\*kiog): "The weeds are rising high »; Chuang: Ta sheng 93 (\*kiog) 'high, to lift the head'; Tso: Wen 11, char. 94 (\*g'iog) 'tall' (sc. person); Shī (gl. 30 above) char. 95 (\*g'iog) 'high'. — If thus both meanings: 'strong' and 'high' are defendable, the earliest (A) interpr. is so well substantiated that we have no reason to abandon it.

170. Chu fen piao piao 96.

A. Mao: piao piao 97 (\*piog / piäu / piao) = 98 'ample'. Fen were the 'bitplaques', extra adorning plaques, of varying shape, on the ends of the bit, on both sides of the mouth (see e. g. BMFEA, 6, pl. 26). Thus: "The red bit-plaques are ample. Whether Mao by 98 'ample' means that they were 'richly ornated' or that they were 'numerous' (there being many horses in the cavalcade) is not clear. — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 99, the 100 likewise defined as = 98. — C. Yen Ts'an (Sung dyn.) finds it unreasonable that 97 \*piog, which means 'bit', and quite particularly the protruding ends of the bit, e. g. ode 127, phr. I: »Light carriages and bell-adorned bits» (other ex. in Yili: Ki si etc.), and here following directly upon fen 'bit-plaque', should not

者的做的骶尾点接在巧笑倩号点得的好口輔点輔点酥点奇牙出眼醐抱的笑 免业含白色双茜双精双著双蕃水蕃白色水美目断节双断双白黑分双分级须黑 色《美目《动目包《盼然环其眼《盼然《説于赏郊《召伯所説《説《舍》维》 倦忽锐习四牡翳霜为霜刃牡泉、皆以其气之褐爽力之盛双趋双爝爝虎臣凡焉加 武鬼。虽然为此独鹃王之违血焉。其马隋炀;覆盛。摘然刚折,摘《殭鬼》四 牡蹒跚,我民雄骑,我民雄驹及继莠踽踽为懦,僑力雷,朱帧貔貔刃魏为盛免 n 朱幡偃應加億 / 輜車營鏈 2 人人 3 日日 4 雨雪瀌瀌:庶庶 6 雨雪之盛 也っき

have its ordinary sense of 'bit' but be a loan char. for a homophonous \*piog 'ample'. He therefore interprets the double piao piao distributively, like 2 jen jen 'every man', 3 jī jī 'every day', thus: There are red bit-plaques piao piao on every bit. — C is simple and reasonable, but before accepting it definitely, some par. should be examined:

a. Ode 223, phr. 4 (\*piog | piāu | p i a o; Lu and Han ap. Sün, Han shu, Han Shī wai chuan read 5). Cheng = 6 'the ampleness of the rain and snow'. —  $\beta$ . Yi Chou shu: T'ai tsī Tsin 7 (\*piog): \*The fervour (of the horses) being ample (comm.  $\delta = 8$ ). —  $\gamma$ . Ode 79, phr. 9 (\*piog), Mao:  $\delta = 10$  'martial-looking' (vigorous); yet the parallelism with other stanzas in that ode makes a meaning 'to run' (\*The four mailed horses are running\*) more plausible, cf. gl. 218, 220 below. —  $\delta$ . Ode 105, phr. 11 (\*piog), Mao: 100 = 12 'numerous'; this case, again, is uncertain, for here another school ap. Shuowen interpr. p i a o p i a o 100 = 13, thus: \*The marching men are running\*, which is strongly corroborated by ode 180, phr. 14, where even Mao says p i a o p i a o 100 = 15 'to run' (Han here reads 16, which also means 'to run'); and this is definitely confirmed by Yi Chou shu: Wang huei 17: \*The men of Fa are swiftly-running, like deer which run fast\*. —

We thus find that there are three undoubtedly well attested word stems \* $piog \mid pi\ddot{a}u \mid$  p i a o for which the phonetic 5 (with or without radicals) serves: 'bit': 'ample': 'to run'. Mao and Han have had good text par. in support of their idea 97 = 98 p i a o p i a o = 'ample' in phr. 96. In spite of this, Yen Ts'an's argument is so absolutely convincing that we must accept C.

171. Tifu vich'ao 18.

A. Mao: f u 19 (\*piwst / piust / f u) = 20 'a covering, screen', thus: \*With pheasant-feather-screened (chariot) she went to court \*. — B. Cheng (ap. comm. to Chouli) reads 21, this 22 \*piad / piäi / p i = 'a covering'. — Whether this was really a variant of another school, or Cheng — as often — simply substituted a gloss-word of his own (here Mao's gloss) to that of the orig. text, cannot be decided.

172. Shīku huo huo 23.

A. Mao: huo huo 24 (\* $\chi u\hat{a}t / \chi u\hat{a}t / h$ uo) = 25 'put it in the water'. It is not clear what Mao meant by this gloss (the movement? the noise?). — B. Chu: h u o h u o == 'the sound of the net going into the water', thus: \*They drop the net, splash! \* (onomatope). — C. Han (ap. Shiwen) huo huo 24 = 26 'the appearance of floating'; thus: "They drop the net, it floats with the stream". — D. Shuowen reads 27 = 28'to obstruct the flow', thus: »They drop the net, it huo huo lies there stemming the current». — E. Another school (Ma Jung ap. Shīwen): hu o hu o 24 = 29 'the holes of a big fishing-net being large and wide', thus: \*They drop the net, it (lies there) wide-holed». Here  $24 * \chi w \hat{a} t$  is expl. by an attempt at etymology: equal to 30 \*xwât / xuât / h u o 'open, empty'. — There are no direct text par. to decide the issue. Cf., however, ode 252, phr. 31: \*(The phoenixes fly), h u e i - h u e i (\*xwâd / xuâi / h u e i, Shīwen, Ts'ie yün) their wings». Two interpr. a. Mao: h u e i - h u e i = 32, thus: »Many are their wings»;  $\beta$ . Cheng and Tsī lin: huei huei = 'the sound of flying wings'. Further, ode 299, phr. 33 (\*ywâd / xuâi / h u e i, Shuowen var. 34): The sound of the bells \*xwad-xwad . — These indirect text par. favour the interpr. by onomatopes in all three odes: Phr. 23 here: »They drop the net: xwât-xwât» (splashing sound); phr. 31: "The phoenixes fly:  $\gamma w \hat{a} d - \gamma w \hat{a} d$ " (rustling sound); phr. 33: "The sound of the bell (goes) xwâd-xwâd ».

173. Chan wei po po 35.

A. Mao: po po (\* $pu\hat{a}t/pu\hat{a}t/po$ ) = 36, thus: "The sturgeons are abundant (numerous)". — B. Another school (Ma Jung ap. Shīwen): 'when the fish sticks in the

net, 37 its tail  $pw\hat{a}t$ - $pw\hat{a}t'$  (onomatope, sound of the lashing tail). — C. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. to Huai) reads 38, but neither reading nor interpr. is known. — D. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 39, to which Ts'ie yün: \* $pw\hat{a}t / pu\hat{a}t / p$  o and \* $p'w\hat{a}t / p'u\hat{a}t / p$  o = 40 'a fish shaking its tail'. Shuowen quotes 41 (without sense definition), which is probably but a var. of the preceding. — Since there is no text par. whatever for A, the parallelism with the preceding line decides for B (D): \*They drop the net, (it splashes:)  $\chi w\hat{a}t \cdot \chi w\hat{a}t!$  the sturgeons (beat their tails:)  $pw\hat{a}t pw\hat{a}t$  \*.

174. Shu kiang nie nie 42.

A. Mao: nie nie 43 (\*ngiat | ngiät | nie) = 44, thus: \*The attendant ladies are amply adorned \*. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) and Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. to Lü) read 45 (\*ngât | ngât | ng o) defined as = 46 'tall' (Shīwen) and 47 'high and tall' (Kao Yu). Thus: \*The attendant ladies are tall \*. — The discrepancy between the schools is not so great as it appears; \*ngiat and \*ngât are one and the same word stem. The two phonetics are interchangeable. Shu: P'an Keng 48 \*ngât | ngât | ng o and \*ngiat | ngiät | nie is quoted as 49 (\*ngât) in Shuowen. This word \*ngât 'tree stump' occurs in Lü: Kuo li as loan char. for our word 'high' in the phr. 50 = 'a high tower'. And 51 \*ngât, Shuowen = 52 'to load up high' (pile up high), is etym. the same word. On the other hand Erya (evidently with this ode in view) says: 53 \*ngiat-ngiat is = 'to carry on the head', i. e. having an adornment on the head; therefore Mao, more freely: 'amply adorned'. Thus Mao's \*ngiat-ngiat and Han's \*ngât-ngât are two variations of the same stem and both mean (with Waley's happy term): \*The attendant ladies are tall-coiffed \*.

175. Shu shī yu k'ie 54.

A. Mao: k'ie 55 (\*k'iat | k'iāt | k'ie and \*k'iāt | k'iv | k'ie | = 56, thus: "The attendant officers are martial-looking". The graph means 'to go' (Lü: Shī jung), here loan char. for this 'martial'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 57, and says 58 (\*g'iat | g'iāt | k i e) = 59 'strong, vigorous'. Cf. Chuang: T'ien yün 60 'vigorously'. Thus: "The attendant officers are strong". Both char. occur side by side in ode 62, phr. 61, to which Mao: 55 k'i e = 'martial', 58 k i e = 62 'unique', i. e. outstanding, surpassing others, a hero. (For 55 in ode 62, Han, ap. comm. to Wsüan, has the var. 63 \*g'iat, \*kiāt 'martial, robust', which occurs also in Chuang: T'ien tao). — So the two words are not identical, though practically synonymous and closely cognate. Undecidable whether 55 k'iat (A) or 58 \*g'iat (B) best repr. the orig. Shī.

# Ode LVIII: Meng.

176. Meng chī ch'ī ch'ī c4. Meng 氓. Variant 65 ap. the T'ang stone classics.

為應應。益,四介應應《武兒》行人應應《眾兒》行兒》條條俟俟少陽《堅堅 7發人應應者若應边走。置第以朝內第四蔵以置較以朝四蔵即此處滅滅四藏之 施之水中以流鬼四施思瀛滅四凝流四大魚網目大豁豁如點四期期其羽四眾多33 實聲處歲以鐵 50鹽鮪發發《盛兒刀尾發發然日潑股如鐵酸和魚掉尾《做飲血庶 姜擎孽的孽以盛飾如纖數《長兒红高長兒日孽《獻の藥市の觀口載高口擊擊或 也再庶士有揭如揭田武壯兒印庶士有榮日榮の健《傑然以伯等揭等邦之榮等。 特立 6 倡《银之蚩蚩 5 毗《银四民四顾為之银》美四银伯以各抱布自煤》伯元

**A.** Mao: meng 66 = 67 'people', thus: \*An honest (man) of the people\*. Cf. Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang 68: They will wish to be his people; Kuan: K'ing chung 65 = 'people'. Chu, following Mao (meng = min) thinks that meng (min) 'people' is a term of address to an unknown male person (thus: you people = you fellow), a ridiculous idea. — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) meng 66 = 69 'beautiful', thus meng here would mean: »You, my beautiful one». No text par. — C. Ts'i. In the Yi lin (Ts'i school) there is a line paraphrasing this ode, 70: \*You, my husband, for the purpose of marriage, carried cloth and yourself acted as marriage-agent». 71 'eldest' serves as a polite term of address: \*you, my husband\* in ode 62. Meng 66 \*mang was homophonous (but for the tone) with 72 \*mang 'eldest', a synon. of 71. Evidently the Ts'i school thought that 66 is loan char. for 72 'eldest', and hence 66, paraphrased by the binome 73 in Yi lin, would mean 'you, my (senior =) husband'. — Ingenious though C is, we dare not accept it, since there are no text par. with 72 meng alone as a word of address = 'you, my husband' (in the way 71 is used in ode 62). Moreover, we should not operate with loans (66 for 72) unless the traditional graph makes no acceptable sense. Here it is quite good ('people'), and A is preferable. Ch'i ch'i 74.

A. Mao: ch'ī ch'ī 74 = 75 'honest, reliable', thus: \*An honest (man) of the people \*. No text par. — B. Chu: ch'ī ch'ī 74 = 76 'ignorant, silly'. Only Han time (e. g. Shī ming) and later par. — C. Han (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi; variants 77) = 78 'with a genial and joyous (cheerful) mind'. Both Ts'ang hie p'ien 79 (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) and Shuowen 80 are defined as = 'to laugh, jest'. Cf. Lie: T'ang wen 81: \*Why do you jest and call me thrice \*. —

For ch'ī ch'ī, the C interpr. is the only one confirmed by an early text par. and therefore preferable. The line thus means: •A jesting (jolly) man of the people, (you came and carried cloth, i. e. money to buy silk)».

177. Chī yü tun k'iu 82.

**A.** Mao: t u n k' i u = 83' a hill in one layer' (84 here means 85' layer' as in Chouli 86 'to make an altar in three layers'). Shïwen reads 87 \*twən | tuən | t u n. — B. Lu (ap. Erya) reads 88; defined as = 83, as A above (Mao has drawn upon Erya). Shīwen to Erya reads either \*twən / tuən / tun or \*twər / tuậi / tuei; thus tunk'iu or tuei-k'iu. — C. Chu: Tun-k'iu = a place name. — The C interpr. may be right without excluding A and B: the place may have been called \*the one-layer hill». As to the primary sense of t u n, several etymologies are possible: — a. 89, read \*twon / tuon / tun = 'solid, thick, compact' (common), here a low, heavy lump, not rising in a sharp peak; if so, the 87 of A is loan char. for 89, just as in Sün: Wang chī 90, where tun tun is a loan for 91 'generous'. Tun-k'iu would then properly mean 'the compact (lumpy) hill'. — β. 87 and 89 \*twən are closely cognate to 92 \*d'wən / d'uən / t'un 'hill', cf. Chuang: Chī lo 93 'living on mounds and hills'. Tun-k'iu is then a synonym-compound (\*mound-hill\*). —  $\gamma$ . 87 and 89 should not be read \*twon but \*twər / tuâi / t u e i and are loan char. for 94 \*twər / tuâi / t u e i 'mound'. So Kuo P'o in his Erya comm. —  $\delta$ . 87 and 89 should not be read \*twən but \*twər /  $tu \dot{q} i$  / t u e i and both stand for 89 \*twor / tuai / tuei 'a kind of vessel'. This is the theory of Erya itself which says 95: sone which resembles an inverted (or: covered?) Tuei vessel is a tuei-k'iu». — Of these possible etymologies  $\beta$  is decidedly best: 87, 89 \*twon: 92 \*d'wən: 94 \*twər are three aspects of one and the same word stem: 'hill'.

Ts'iang tsī wu nu, see gl. 212.

178. Yi wang fu kuan 96.

Mao: fu kuan 97 = 98. This is an ambiguous gloss and has been differently understood: A. Some think he meant: "Where the lord is near", taking fu - kuan

to be the name of a suburban barrier. Thus: »In order to gaze at the Fu-kuan». Chu: Fu-kuan = 99 'where the man was living'. Ch'en Huan reminds that acc. to Tso: Sign 14 a barrier in Wei was called 100 the Near Barrier, and thinks that this is what Mao alluded to: F u - k u an 97 = 100 'the Near Barrier', 98 where the lord is near». Since the word fu I then remains unexplained, W'ang Sien-k'ien improves the gloss: fu-kuan 97 properly means \*the Double Barrier\*; just as city gates occur, one outside the other in the outer and inner walls, so here there were double barriers in the vicinity of the town. — B. Cheng thinks Mao meant: Where the lord approaches »; fu I is then the ordinary verb 'to return'. Thus: In order to gase at him coming back to the barrier (of the town). That this was Cheng's idea is shown in the following line, 2: When you come with your carriage, to which Cheng 3: ser means ju 'you'; ju 'you' means: when you return to the Barrier. — The ode has related how the wooer came to the town as a stranger, on a simulated merchant's trip; the time for the marriage was fixed for the autumn. The bride longs for his arrival and mounts the wall in order to look for his coming again from afar, to the Barrier. Thus B is clearly preferable.

179. T'i wu kiu yen 4.

**A.** Mao: t'i  $5 = \hat{6}$  'the (body =) substance, content, pronouncement of the prognostic' (by chao oracle bone or kua divinatory batons). Thus: »(You had consulted the tortoise and the milfoil stalks), their pronouncement had no inauspicious words. Cf. Shu: Kin t'eng 7: »According to the content (pronouncement), the king will have no harm»; Li: Yü tsao 8: »The prince determines (reads off) the pronouncement. — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 9, defining 1 i 10 as = 11 'lucky, auspicious'; thus: »It was lucky and had no inauspicious words». Cf. ode 4, phr. 12: »May happiness and luck tranquillize her. — C. Ts'i (ap. Li: Fang ki) also reads 9. The same Cheng, who in his comm. to the Odes follows Mao (A above), in his Li comm. savs: li 10 = 13 'rites, decorum'. The 10 \*liər / lji / li would then be loan char. for 13 \*liər / liei / li. Or rather, 10 and 13 are considered as cognate. This scholastic etymology is ancient: Li: Tsi vi 14: \*\*liər decorum is to \*liər walk in this road \*. Cf. also the pun in Yi: Sü kua 15: »When things are restrained, then there arise 13 li (\*liər) rules of decorum, therefore the hexagram ch'u is followed by the hexagram 10 li (\*liər) ». Thus, our ode line here: \*(If you act according to) the rites, there will be no bad words». That Cheng here builds on the Ts'i school tradition is revealed by the Yi lin, which in its line paraphrasing this ode (see gl. 176) continues 16: \*If you neglect the rites and hurriedly follow your feelings, you will finally come to repentance and sorrow - a negatively expressed paraphrase of our line. - D. Another interpr. Ma Juei-ch'en points out that in the versions (Lu, Ts'i) which read 9, this 10 \*lier may

孟羽城伯內董蚩不敦厚之兒 \*\*無知之兒 n 蚩咄 u 走 意和悦之兒 n 蚩 n 嗤 n 如何 蚩而三召于 u至于领丘 si丘 - 成 n 成 si鱼 n 為 檀三成 n 领 zi 敦丘 n 敦 n 我 今 fi 領領馬 n 敦敦 n 屯 n 生于陵屯 n 堆 n 如覆敦 哉敦丘 n 以 室 復開 n 復開 n 鲁子 fi 近也 n 男子所居 m 近關 / 復 2 以爾車來 a 爾 女 w 也 女 女 復關 也 4 體無 咎 言 s 體 c 兆卦之體 n 體 王 其 罔 害 a 若 定 體 n 履 無 咎 言 n 履 n 奉 z 福 履 終 之 n 禮 n 禮 也 履此者 s 物 畜然 依 有 僅 敬 更 之 以 履 n 棄 禮 急 情 辛 罹 悔 要 n 豊 n 漸 車 惟 裳 n 裳 惟 simply be a loan char. for 5 \*t'liər / t'iei / t' i (which has the phonetic 17 \*liər / liei / li). This is quite plausible. — Since the preceding line expressly mentions the prognostics, and 5 is the regular technical term relating to such, A is by far the most convincing.

180. Tsien kü wei shang 18.

A. Mao reads 18: \*It (the water) wets the curtains of my carriage \*. We is hang occurs in Lun: Hiang tang in the sense of 'we i curtain-shaped shang lower garment', and in our ode it is a metaphor: \*the curtain-skirts \* of the carriage. In Li: Tsa ki the same is called 19.— B. Another school (ap. Kia Kung-yen's comm. to Chouli and Yili) reads 20. This 21 = 'curtain, veil' occurs in Kyu: Cheng yü.— 22 \*diwər | jwi | we i and 21 \*giwər | jwzi | we i, though synonymous, are by no means identical. As a binome, A is better supported by par.

181. Nü ye pu shuang, shī er k'i hing 23.

A. Mao (after Erya): shu ang 24 = 25 'to diverge, deviate, aberr'. Cheng expounds this further 26: 'my heart towards you hitherto has had no (deviation and doubling =) duplicity, but your action in returning to the Barrier (had two meanings, was ambiguous =) was false'. Thus the ode line: I, the woman, have not deviated (in my allegiance), but you, the man, have (doubled =) shown duplicity in your behaviour. Both shuang and er then have the fundamental sense of 'two, double, go in two directions, duplicity, doubleness of heart, double dealing'. For shuang cf. Kyü: Chou yü 29: »If your words are double (if you are double-tongued, false in your words), you will daily go back on (break) your faith, to which Wei Chao: shuang = 'double, of two kinds'; ibid. 30: "She had a (double = deviating =) aberrant virtue"; ode 173, phr. 31: »His virtue is not (double =) aberrant, faulty» (here, again, Mao 24 = 25). For er, cf. Tso: Hi 15, phr. 32: »If he (doubles =) shows duplicity, then seize him »; Tso: Hi 9, phr. 33: »You must not (double =) play false»; Tso: Siang 5, phr. 34: »He told how Wang Shu (doubled, aberred in the direction of =) played false with the Jung». — B. Ľu. Erya (Shī hün) has an entry 35: »Yen yen and tan tan mean regret of the shuang t'ê aberration and fault». Since yen yen and tan tan occur in the last st. of this ode 58, the Erya entry evidently refers to our ode, and Wang Yin-chī and followers conclude that the Lu text read shuang t'ê. Now, a char. 36 \*t' $\partial k$  / t' $\partial k$  / t' ê occurs as variant of 37 (e. g. Shu: Hung fan 38 'error' is rendered 39 in Shī ki), and t'ê 36, which occurs also in Kuan: Cheng, is graphically very similar to er. Hence the Lu text must have read 40 shī t'ê ki hing; thus: »I, the woman, have not deviated (in my allegiance), but you, the man, have erred in your behaviour». Mao has misread t'ê 36 for er, and inserted the latter in his text. — It is quite plausible that there were different readings in the two schools: Mao: Shī er k'i hing — Lu: Shī t'ê k'i hing. But it is just as possible that the Lu school students misread and corrupted an er into a t'ê 36 as that Mao corrupted a t'ê into an er (in Tso: Ch'eng 8 the ode is quoted with er, Mao fashion). Indeed, both versions give a good meaning, but A is far better supported by text par.

182. Shi ye wang ki 41.

A. Mao: k i 42 = 43 'the middle course, the proper mean', thus: "You, the man, do not observe the proper mean". K'ung elucidates this further 44: 'in your behaviour you have no proper mean and correctness". Similarly in ode 109, phr. 45, Mao 46, Cheng 47, thus: "They say I am an officer who does not observe the proper mean". Cf. Kyü: Chou yü 48: "He makes so that the spirits, the people and the things all (get their proper mean =) find their proper place" (Wei Chao 46); Chouli: T'ien kuan, sü kuan "He establishes offices and distributes charges, yi we i min ki to serve as centres

for the people» (Cheng 46). — B. Chu: k i 42 = 51 'to attain, go to the limit', thus: •You, the man, have no limit (go to excess)». This 'extreme, go to the limit' is the ordinary meaning of 42. In ode 109, phr. 45, Chu is more explicit 52: \*his heart is reckless, and has no point where it reaches the limit', thus: \*They say I am an officer who has no limit (goes to excess)». We should compare:

Ode 219. Ch'an jen wang ki 53. Mao no gloss. Cheng and Chu: ki 42 = 54 'to stop, cease': The slanderers have no (stopping =) limit (go to excess).

Ode 253. Yi kin wang ki 55. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng 46, thus: \*To make careful those who do not observe the proper mean \*. — B. Chu 56, thus: \*To make careful those who have no limit (go to excess) \*.

Ode 257. Min chi wang ki 57. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng: "That the people does not observe the proper mean". — B. Chu: "That the people has no limit (goes to excess)". —

The meaning 'to have no limit, go to excess' is so obvious in ode 219, phr. 53, that even Cheng has acknowledged it. Since the wang ki cannot possibly have different meanings in these five odes, Chu has generalized this 'to have no limit' to them all, and he is undoubtedly right. Similarly in Tso: Wen 17, phr. 58: "When the commands are excessive, (he knows that he shall perish)". (Here an interpr.: "When the commands do not observe the proper mean" is far less plausible). Observe further the following cases:

Ode 202. Hao t'ien wang ki 59. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng paraphrases 60: thus: \*Oh, great Heaven! I am (without limit =) at my wits' end, desperate \*.

— B. Chu: \*The great Heaven has no limit \* (goes to excess, treats me too cruelly).

Ode 199. Shī jen wang ki 61. Mao no gloss. A. Cheng 62 'there is no extreme time', thus: \*(Since you are not a spectre but a living human being), for seeing you, the man, there is no limit (I shall surely meet you). — B. Kiang Ping-chang (followed by Legge): \*I scrutinize you, the human being, (without limit =) through and through \*. — C. Ch'en Huan: wang ki = 63, thus: \*I regard you, the man, as not observing the proper mean \*. — D. wang ki = 'to have no limit, go to excess': \*I regard you, the man, as having no limit (going to excess) \*.

Ode 275. Mo fei er ki 64. A. Mao 46. This brief gloss may seem to mean: "There is nothing which is not (due to) your proper mean (virtue)". But Cheng expounds it differently: "There is nobodly who is not (in receipt of) your proper mean" = "who has not got his proper place and duty thanks to you". This goes back to Tso: Ch'eng 16, where this ode is quoted, the text continuing 65: "Everybody knows his (proper mean =) duty". (Cf. also 48 above). This is all frightfully scholastic. — B. Chu: ki = 51, thus: "There is nothing which is not (due to) your extreme (virtue)". — C. Another interpr. ki = 'to attain, reach', a common meaning of ki, cf. gl. 148 above, thus: "There is nothing which is not (due to) your attainments".

22 漸重樓裝 2 韓 22 韓 23 女也不爽士貳其行 24 爽 25 差 24 我也於女故無差貳而復聞 之行有二意 20 言爽日反其信 26 有爽健 20 其健不爽 20 貳而朝之 23 不可以貳 34 言王 权之貳于戎 25 晏晏旦旦悔爽忒也 26 貳 35 忒 36 衍贰 46 七貳其行 46 土也罔極 4極 51 中 46 行無中正 55 謂我士也罔極 4極中 55 無中正 4 使神人百物無不得其極 50 至 20 其也縱然無所至極 55 體人罔極 56 已 55 以諡罔極 25 無有極時 62 無中 46 莫歷 50 命之罔極 50 昊天罔極 60 昊天乎我也無極 60 视人罔極 20 無有極時 62 無中 46 莫歷

# 183. Mi shīlao vi 66. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: mi 67 = 68 'not, not have' (common), thus: I had no toil from the household. (I did not feel overburdened by my household duties, I worked quite willingly). — B. Han (ap. Shiwen to Yi: Kua 61, and ap. comm. to Lie) m i 67 = 69'to have in common, to share' (it has been advocated by later comm. that this Han gloss mi = kung must refer to this ode; it suits no other mi phr. in the Shī). Thus: I shared (with you) the toil of the house ». Yi: kua 61 has been adduced as a par., phr. 70: »I have a good wine-cup (or: good rank?), I shall share it with you», because of the said Shiwen gloss; but the meaning of that passage is much disputed and the par. is not safe. Mi 67 is, on the other hand, well attested in the sense of 'to tie, connect' (later wr. 71), e. g. Chuang: Jen kien shī 72: »When they (the states) are in near contact, they should (by tied to each other, be connected =) be united, linked together by good faith». This would reasonably be the etymology of the Han gloss here: »(Three years I have been your wife), united (with you) in the toil of the household = sharing the toil with you. — The parallelism with next st. decides for A: phr. 73: \*Rising early and going to sleep late. I have had no morning, (no leisure, I have been ever at work) — here mi cannot possibly mean anything but the common 68 'not have'.

# 184. Yen ki suei yi 74. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: yen 75 = 76 'I', suei 77 = 78 'long'; our line 74 would thus be equal to 79: \*I have been for a long time \* (sc. with you), I have remained with you. The fundamental sense of suei 77 is 'road, to follow a road', with many extensions of meaning. One is 'to go on along a road, continue', cf. Li: Tseng tsī wen 80: \*(When an officer follows the funeral train of the prince and learns that his father has died, what shall he do? K'ung-tsī said:) He continues (his march); after the coffin has been lowered, he returns \*. Thus here in the ode, properly: \*I have continued, persisted \*.— B. Chu: yen 75 = 'words', suei 77 = 81 'achieve', thus: \*My words have been achieved (fulfilled)\*, i. e. I have kept my vows. Suei 77 ('to follow the road to the end, reach the goal =) 'to achieve, fulfil' is common, cf. Lun: Pa yi 82: \*Things that are (completed =) done need not be spoken of, things that are achieved need not be remonstrated about \*; Li: Yüe ling 83: \*All tasks are achieved \*.— B is a better par. to the preceding stanza: st. 4: \*I have not deviated (in my allegiance) \* st. 5: \*My words have been achieved (I have kept my vows) \*.— Other debated cases of suei:

Ode 252. Wei yi suei ko 84. A. Mao: suei 77 = 'then, thereupon' (the commonest meaning of suei), thus: »(I have composed a few verses) for subsequently having them sungs. — B. Chu: »In order to continue your song» (in prolongation of your song). — No reason to abandon A.

Ode 194. Jung ch'eng pu t'uei, ki ch'eng pu suei 85. Mao: suei 77 = 86, an obscure gloss. A. Mao is badly expounded by Cheng: \*Though the (weapons =) war is finished, they (the enemies) do not withdraw; though the famine is finished, they do not an 86 give him peace (comfort him) \* (sue i then a transitive verb, with 'him' as understood object). — B. Mao is better expounded by Ch'en Huan: ch'eng 81 = 87 (just as in ode 188, phr. 88 is quoted as 89 in Lun): \*The weapons truly are not withdrawn, the famine truly is not (achieved =) tranquillised. Thus suei 77 = an 86 is a free paraphrase of the sense 'to achieve' above. — C. Chu, referring to a passage in Yi: kua 34 (90: \*He cannot draw back, he cannot continue, advance\*) interprets: \*Though the war is finished, he does not draw back (from evil), though the famine is finished, he does not advance (in good) \* — frightfully scholastic. — B is obviously right.

185. Tsung küe chī yen 91.

A. Mao reads 91. Yen 92 (\*ian / ien / yen) means 'rest, repose, feast, to have pleasure', cf. ode 35, phr. 93: "You feast with, enjoy yourself with your new wife". Thus: "During the (pleasure =) pleasant time of the 'tied horns'". The two horn-like tufts of hair was the head-dress of the unmarried girls. — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen and K'ung's comm.) reads 94. This 95 \*kwan / kwan / k u an means 'hair tufts' as described under A. Thus: "(The children with) the tufts of the tied horns" (talked and laughed in a friendly way). Cf. ode 102, phr. 96. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

186. Sin shītan tan 97. Mao has no expl. of tan.

A. Chu (after Shuowen) tan = 'clear', thus: "We were sworn to good faith clearly". Cf. ode 254: "The august Heaven is called bright, . . . the august Heaven is called tan clear". — B. Lu (ap. Erya and Shuowen) reads 1, and Shuowen says: "2 = 3 pained, grieved; some write 4, as in Shī 1". Now Ts'ie yün distinguishes 2 \*tat / tat / ta ' grieved', e. g. in ode 102 (where the rime demands \*tat), and 4 \*tan / tan / tan / tan of our ode 58 (where the rime demands <math>\*tat). The meaning, however, is the same in both variations of the stem (tan : tat). And just as e. g. 5 t'ung means not only 'pain, pained, grieved', but also 'earnest, with intense feelings', e. g. Kuan: Ts'i ch'en ts'i ch'u 6: "(painfully =) earnestly to speak of man's feelings", so 1 means: "We were sworn to good faith (painfully, intensely =) earnestly". Cheng has here followed the Lu school: tan tan 97 = 7 "expresses its intensity and sincerity". Thus he takes 97 to be loan char. for 4. — B stands much nearer in time to Chou tradition than A, and is very plausible.

187. K'iao siao ts'o hi 8.

Mao:  $t s \circ 9 = 10$  'the appearance of the artful smile' gives no real expl. It has been expounded in several ways, a. o.: A. Chu says:  $*t s \circ 9$  ( $*ts'\hat{a} / ts'\hat{a} / ts'\hat{a} / ts'\hat{o}$ ) = 'fresh and white colour'; when laughing, the teeth are showing  $t s \circ -j a$  n brightly ». This after Shuowen:  $t s \circ 9 = 11$  'the colour of jade being fresh and white'. Cf. ode 47, phr. 12: \*How brilliantly white is her robe of state ». Thus here:  $*The tresh whiteness of the artful smile * (the white teeth showing). — B. Hu Ch'eng-kung (foll. by Ch'en Huan) takes <math>t s \circ 9$  ( $*ts'\hat{a}$ ) to be loan char. for 13 \*ts'ia / ts'ie / t s'i, Shuowen = 'uneven teeth'; etym. s. w. a. 14 \*ts'ia / ts'ie / t s'i in 15 t s'e n - t s'i 'of different length, uneven', see gl. 70. Cf. Sün: Kün tao 16: \*Those who are like uneven teeth ». Thus: \*The uneven teeth of the artful smile », i. e. just a corner of the teeth peeping out when she smiles. — No reason whatever not to accept A, where the orig. char. is maintained, with a good text par.

爾極公各知其極《靡室勞矣公糜《無公共为我有好需吾與爾靡之》廢及凡交近則必相靡以信乃夙與夜寐靡有朝以言既遂矣亦言必我乃遂以久乃我既久矣的遂 既封而歸以成以成事不說遂事不諫弘百事乃遂以維以遂歌以戎成不退飢成不遂 《安記就即成不以富力誠不以富力不能退不能遂,總角之宴之宴为宴爾新昏 % 總月之非如此來總角非芳如信誓旦旦之信誓思思之但引慘,思。病。病言人情 之言其墾側款誠。巧笑瑳芳,瑳心巧笑包以玉色)如及瑳芳瑳芳其之展也以鹺

# 188. Pei yü chī no 17.

A. Mao: no 18 (\* $n\hat{a}r / n\hat{a} / n$  o) = 19 'to walk with measured steps'. As an attribute to 'girdle gems' this is very curious, and has to be freely expounded: "The rhythm of his girdle gems" (when walking sedately). — B. Another school (ap. Yülan) reads 20 (\* $n\hat{a}r / n\hat{a} / n$  o). — The Mao gloss (repeated in Shuowen) is not convincing. It should be mentioned, first, that the char. 18 is frequent in the sense of 'to expel demons' (e. g. Lun), in this sense also wr. 21 no (Chouli) — so the graphs 18 and 21 are interchangeable. Then we compare:

Ode 148. O-no k'i chī 22. For o-no 23 (\*'â-nâr), Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads yi-ni 24 (\*'ia-niār). A. Mao: o-no 23 = 25 'pliant', thus: \*Pliant are its branches \*. (Cf. Huai: Siu wu, where 26 seems to mean 'supple'?). But this is not applicable in the 2nd and 3rd st., phr. 27: \*...its flowers; ... its fruits \*. B. In Ch'u: Kiu pien yi-ni 24 means 'richly flourishing'. This applied here: \*Luxuriant are its branches \*.

Ode 228. Si sang yu o, k'i ye yu no 28. Here we find o no 29 (\* $\hat{a}$ - $n\hat{a}r$ ), and Mao says: o 30 (\* $\hat{a}$  /  $\hat{a}$  / o) = 31, beautiful', no 32 (\* $n\hat{a}r$  /  $n\hat{a}$  / no) = 33 'ample, rich'. Thus: "The mulberry trees of the lowlands are beautiful, their foliage is ample."

Ode 301. Yi yü no yü 34. Here we find yi-no 35 (\*ia-nâr). A. Mao: yi 36 (\*ia / ig / yi) = 37 'an interjection of admiration', no 38 (\*nâr / nâ / no) = 39 'much, ample'. Thus: \*Oh, how ample \*. — B. yi 36 here is decidedly not the interjection, but means 'luxuriant', as in ode 55, see below. Thus: \*How rich, how ample \*.

Ode 215. Shou fu pu no 40. Mao (after Erya): no 38 = 39, thus: "Will they not receive much happiness". Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 41.

Ode 55. Lüchuyi yi 42. The royal fodder and the creepers are luxuriant. Mao: yi yi (\*ia/ie/yi) = 43 beautiful and rich'.

Ode 221. yu no k'i kü 44. A. Mao: no 38 = 45 'peace', thus: »(The king is in Hao), living there in tranquillity». — B. Wang Su (ap. Shīwen): no 38 = 39: •Ample is his abode •.

Kyü: Ch'u yü 46: \*Beautiful young men ». No 38 (\*nâr), Wei Chao = 31 'beautiful'. From all these examples it is perfectly clear that Mao's glosses are in part erroneous. We have to do with two words, each of which is varied in two aspects of the stem: \*'â / 'â / o  $\sim$  'ia / 'iɛ / y i, wr. 47; and \*nâr / nâ / n o  $\sim$  \*niãr / niɛ / n i, wr. 48. Both mean 'rich, ample', hence 'flourishing, beautiful'. And they often combine to form a binome, either o - n o (\*'â-nâr) or y i - n o (\*'ia-nâr) or y i - n i (\*'ia-niãr). For stem variations like \*'â  $\sim$  'ia and \*nâr: niãr, cf. BMFEA 5, p. 107—108. For binome variations like the preceding, cf. gl. 98. — Our ode line in ode 59, phr. 17, consequently means (against Mao): \*The richness (beauty) of the girdle gems \*. — We should examine, finally, another line:

Ode 246. Wei ye ni ni 49. Mao and Cheng have no direct gloss.

A. Chu: n i n i 50 (\* $ni\partial r / niei /$  n i) = 51: »Its leaves are soft and moist» (this derived from the fundamental sense of 50 = 'mud'). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 52, which n i 53 (\* $ni\partial r / niei /$  n i) is defined by Chang Yi as = 54 'ampleness (luxuriance) of plants'. Thus: •Its leaves are luxuriant •. — The A version graph 50 is clearly a loan char. for 53 of B, and the word 53 \* $ni\partial r$  is cognate to our 48 \* $n\hat{a}r \sim ni\tilde{a}r$  in the passages discussed above.

#### Ode LX: Huan lan.

189. Neng pu wo chi 55.

A. Mao paraphrases 56 'he does not himself consider that he has no knowledge'. This cannot grammatically be reconciled with the wording of the ode line. — B. Cheng:

\*His ability is not (equal to) what we know (to do) (word by word: His ability is not our knowledge), i. e. he is not so able as we are. — C. Wang Yin-chī and followers: 57 \* n n n g / n n n g = 58 \* n i n g / n i / n e n g = 58 \* n i n g / n i / n e n g = 58 \* n i n n g / n i / n e n g + n n n g / n i / n e n g + n n n g / n n i . Thus: \*But he does not know us \*. — D. Another interpr. Ne n g has its ordinary meaning: \*Can he not-know me\* = \*Can he fail to know me\* (i. e. why should he not know me). — D is certainly most simple and plausible.

190. Junghi sue i hi 60.

A. Mao 61: 'his carriage (deportment) is worth to behold, his girdle gems are su e i s u e i-like (s u e i - s u e i-fashion)'. J u n g 62 = 'way of behaving, carriage' is common (Li etc.). Of sue i 63 Mao gives no real expl., only suggesting that it is an adjective to a 'gem' not expressed in the text: »Oh, the deportment! Oh the suei-suei (of his girdle gems) »! (the ode tells of various things worn in the girdle). — B. Cheng: jung 62 = 64 'ceremonial knife', sue i 63 = 65 'a gem'. Thus: •Oh, his ceremonial knife, oh, his sue i gem »! Cf. ode 250, phr. 64: »Ceremonial knife»; ode 203, phr. 66: \*Girdle gems \*. The 63 in our ode here short for that 67. — C. Chu: jung sue i 68 = 69, thus: \*Oh, how easy (indolent), how nonchalant \*. For j u n g, cf. Lun: Hiang tang 70: \*He had a placid (easy) appearance \*. For sue i, cf. Sün: Wang chī 71: There is risk that the great matters are delayed (left undone), and the small matters are neglected (yet here the sue i has been much discussed, whether it stands for 72 'fall down, be ruined', or it means 73 'perish'). — In ode 250 it is a question of things carried in the girdle: on the one hand gems (74 and 75), on the other hand 64 ceremonial knife. Again, in ode 203, the sue i 67 is a gem carried in the girdle. In our ode here are described various objects carried in the girdle, and the very next line describes the girdle (sash). Cheng (B) has correctly realized the parallelism with the odes 250 and 203, and he is undoubtedly right. **191.** Ch'uei tai ki ki *76*.

A. Mao. In this version 77 \*g'iwed | g'jwi | k i rimes with the 63 (67) \*dziwed | zwi | s u e i of the preceding line. Mao says: \*he lets his sash hang down 78 k i - k i-wise in an orderly manner. K i 77 is defined in Shuowen as = 79 'the heart moving', i. e. 'agitated'; cf. Lie: Huang ti 80 'agitated'; Lie: Mu wang 81: \*His bowels trembled (shook, moved). Thus here: \*Oh the (shaking =) movement of his down-hanging sash. Mao has elaborated this idea of 'to shake, move' into that of 'rhythmical movement'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 82, and defines 83 \*dz'iwed | dz'wi | s u e i as = 84 'hang-

ing down'. Thus: »Oh, the hanging-down of his down-hanging sash». No text par. — **c.** Ma Juei-ch'en and others think that both 77 \*g'iwed and 83 \*dz'iwed are loan char. for 85 j u e i 'hanging down', as in Tso: Ai 13, phr. 86: »The girdle jade hangs down's. The arch. reading of this 85 j u e i is uncertain (Anc. néwig and néwi), but even if we reconstruct it \*niwed | néwi | j u e i, which is allowable, it deviates too far from 77 \*g'iwed and 83 \*dz'iwed for these latter to be loan char. for the former. — There is consequently no reason to abandon A, which is supported by good par.

192. Neng pu wo kia 87.

Neng here is subject to the same dissention as in the par. line, gl. 189 above.

A. Mao (after Erya): k i a 88 = 89 'to be familiar with'. It is not clear whether Mao means that 88 \* kap / kap / k i a is a direct loan char. for  $89 * g'ap / \gamma ap / h$  i a and therefore here has to be read \*g'ap, or he means that our 88 \* kap (so Shīwen) was only cognate to (of the same stem as) and synon. with 89 \* g'ap. Thus: Can he fail to be familiar with me. Cf. Shu: To fang 90: »And then he was familiar with the disorderly ones of the interior». — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 91, same meaning as A. — C. Chu: k i a 88 = 92 'superior', thus: »His ability is not (sufficient for his being) superior to us». Chu builds on 88 being the first of the ten cycl. stems, hence primus = 'superior'. Very far-fetched, and, besides, n e n g cannot be so construed, cf. gl. 189.

# Ode LXII: Po hi.

193. Po hi k'ie hi 93. For k'ie see gl. 175 above.

A. Mao: p o 94 = 95 'a district chief'. Cf. Li: Nei tsê 96: "The district scribe presents it to the district chief". — B. Cheng: p o 94 = 97 'the appellation (term of address) of a gentleman'. Chu expounds this further: 'the appellation (term of address) a lady uses for her husband'. — Since this ode is clearly a poem in which a lady speaks of her absent husband, B is right.

194. Shuei ti wei jung 98.

A. Mao: ti 99 (Shīwen \*tiek | tiek | ti) = 100 'master, chief'. Thus: \*Whom shall I have for master, for whom to adorn myself \* (my husband being absent). Cf. Li: Tsi fa I: \*The chief officer \* (Cheng: = 2); Li: T'an kung 3: \*The principal (foremost, chief) chamber \*; Lü: Hia hien 4: \*The master of the world \*. Ch'en Huan has a kindred idea: ti 99 stands for 5: \*Whom shall I have for a vis-à-vis, for whom to adorn myself \*. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en reads shuei shī wei jung, the 99 being \*śičk | śiäk | shī, thus: \*Who likes to adorn oneself \* (when the husband is absent). Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 6: \*The people did not like their abode \*; Chuang: Ta tsung shī 7: \*They were such men that they served the service of other men, they (liked other men's likings =) found pleasure in what other men liked \* (San ts'ang ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi: 99 = 8 'to find pleasure in, to like'). 99 shī is common in the sense of 'to suit, be suitable for', e. g. ode 94, phr. 9: \*It suits my wish \*. And this gives then, by a transitive construction: 'to find suitable' = to like'; Shu, phr. 6: \*The people did not (find suitable =) like their abode \*; our ode here: \*Who (finds suitable =) likes to adorn oneself \*. — We must compare another ode:

Ode 200. Shue i shī yü mou  $\hat{10}$ . A. Though Mao has no gloss here to 99, Wang Su and Sü Miao (ap. Shīwen) read \*tiek | tiek | ti, which reveals that they take it like A in the preceding, and so does Chu, who says: 99 = 100. Thus: »Whom have they (sc. the slanderers) made (master =) leader, to consult with ». — B. Ma Jueich'en, in analogy with B above, reads 99 sh = 8, thus: »Who (tinds suitable =) likes to consult with them» (sc. slanderers). — C. Cheng here reads shī (\*\$i\vertext{\

to consult with you (you slanderers). — Obviously the two odes have 99 in one and the same sense. This excludes C (à la rigueur, one could take 98 to mean: "Who goes to adorn oneself", but that makes poor sense). A is extremely strained, B much more convincing and well supported by par. (so also Waley).

Yüan yen si po, see gl. 126.

#### Ode LXIII: Yu hu.

# 195. Yu hu suei suei 11.

A. Mao: sue i sue i 12 = 13. This would seem to mean 'to walk in pairs' (one male and one female); but in ode 101, phr. 14, Cheng expounds Mao more fully 15: \*The male fox goes seeking a mate\*. Thus Mao's 13 means 'mating-going fashion'. This Chu develops still further 16: 'walking solitary in search of a mate'. Thus our line 11: \*There is a fox who goes seeking a mate\*. — B. Another school (ap. Wang Ying-lin to the present ode and Yü p'ien to ode 101) reads 17, this 18 sue i = 19 'to walk slowly' (after Shuowen). Thus: \*There is a fox walking slowly\*, and, ode 101, phr. 14: \*The male fox walks slowly\*. The 12 of A was \*sniwər | swi | sue i, and this 18 here was Anc. swi, so the two words may have been homophonous and interchangeable. 12 has often the sense of 'to tranquillize, give repose to' (Shī passim), '(to keep quiet =) to desist from', sc. battle (Tso); cf. also Sün: Ju hiao 20, to which the comm. = 21 'quietly and grandly'. — The B interpr. is better supported by par.

#### Ode LXV: Shu li.

# 196. Pi shu li li 22.

A. Mao: no gloss to li li here, but in ode 174, phr. 23, he says: li li 24 = 25: "Those t'ung trees, those yi trees, their fruits hang down". Chu applies this also in our present ode: "That millet (has ears that) are hanging down" (are heavy and rich). Cf. Shan hai king (book 10, of early Han time) 26: "The country of (people with) hanging ears"; Li: Ming t'ang wei 27: "The down-hanging (suspended) musical stones of Shu (li here funnily expl. by the scholasts as = 'differentiating' musical stones!). — B. Han (Sie Han ap. Ch'u hüe ki) to ode 174: li li 24 = 28: "The fruits are long". Thus, here to: "That millet (has ears that) are long". No text par. — C. Another school (Shuowen ap. Shīwen) reads 29. This 30 means, acc. to Ts'ie yün, 31 '(growing) grain two handfuls'; since this makes poor sense here, Ma Jueich'en thinks that 30 is here a variant of 32 li, defined in Kuang yün as = 33 'millet in orderly rows', thus here in 29: "That millet grows in orderly rows". But first, the identity of 30 and 32 is an arbitrary guess, without the slightest support, and secondly Kuang yün has deviated from its predecessor Ts'ie yün, which says 32 = 34 'millet growing'. — No reason whatever to abandon A, which is well supported.

業 5 82 能不我甲 88 甲 87 和 82 因甲于内亂 12 能不我狎 22 長 22 伯 5 獨 5 2 伯 5 州伯 82 州 史獻諸州伯 52 君子字也 52 龍商為容 52 通 52 直 22 上士 52 適 至 4 天下之 通 5 敵 6 民不適有居 7 是役人之役適人之通 8 悦 9 通我颗矣 20 誰適與謀 11 有狐 经经 20 经 5 20 安泰之免 20 彼泰離離 25 其桐 其 梅 其 實離離 44離 25 至 24 離 耳國 20 叔之 離 8 28 長 免 20 彼 泰糖糖 30 橋 30 禾二把 2 機 25 泰稷 行列 50 泰生 35 行 邁靡靡 36 廉 57

197. Hing mai mi mi 35.

A. Mao: m i m i 36 is equal to 37, thus: I walked slowly. (lingeringly). Cf. Sün: Jung ju 38: He slows them down, or he urges them on. (expl. by Yang Liang 39).

— B. Another school. Kuang ya has an entry 36 = 40, probably referring to this ode, thus: Walking, I went along. No text par. — A is better supported.

Chung sin yao yao, see gl. 90. Yu yu ts'ang t'ien, see gl. 90.

# Ode LXVI: Kün tsi yü yi.

198. St. 2. Hok'i yu huo 41.

A. Mao: h u o  $42 \ (*g'wat / \gamma uat$ , h u o, Shïwen and Ts'ie yün; the latter also \*kwat / kuât / k u o) = 43 'to unite, join', thus: \*When will there be a union\* (when will he join me). Mao evidently considers  $42 \ *g'wat$  as cognate to  $43 \ *g'wat / \gamma uat / h$  u e i, with the common stem alternation  $-t \sim -d$ . It is moreover of the same stem as  $44 \ *kwat / kuat / k$  u o 'to bind' (common), cf. ode 218, phr. 45: \*Her fair reputation comes and binds us together\*, to which Mao: 44 = 43, and Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) 44 = 46. — B. Han (ap. Shïwen): h u o 42 = 47 'to come', thus: \*When will there be a coming\* (when will he come). No text par. The Han interpr. is probably due to a consideration of the par. line in st. 1, phr. 48: \*When will he come\*; but the formulation is not a strict par. and not conclusive. —

St. 3. Yang niu hia kuo 49.

A. Mao: k u o 44 = 47, thus: \*The sheep and oxen go down and come \*. Here, like Han for 42 in the preceding st., Mao has a meaning 'to come' for which there are no text par. whatever. His interpr. builds on the par. with st. 2, phr. 50. — B. Another interpr.  $44 * kw\hat{a}t / ku\hat{a}t / k$  u o 'to bind' may be taken in the sense of the cognate  $43 * g'w\hat{a}d / \gamma u\hat{a}i / h$  u e i 'to bind together, to join', which latter also has a reading  $*kw\hat{a}d / ku\hat{a}i / k$  u e i 'put together, add up'. Thus: \*The sheep and oxen go down and are brought together. (they have been spread over the fields when grazing, now when going home, they are 'bound together', united in a flock). — St. 2 A and st. 3 B are based on a well-attested meaning of the word-stem and preferable.

A. Mao: yang yang 52 = 53 'to have nothing on which to use his heart', i. e. 'carefree'. Thus: The lord is carefree'. Similarly K'ung: yang yang 52 = 54, quoting a Shī ki passage 55 and concluding that yang yang is equal to  $t ext{s} ilde{1} t ilde{2}$  'satisfied, contented'. The present Shī ki version reads 56. Probably yang 52 (\*diang) is loan char. for this yang 57 (\*diang) = 'to raise, to lift', and means 'elated', as in the Shī ki passage quoted. Thus properly: The lord is elated. Cf. Sün: Ju hiao 58: Then he is elated. (pleased.) like, to which Yang Liang = 59 'contented'. — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien): yang yang 52 = 60 'the appearance of a lord (gentleman)'. This is somewhat obscure. Yang 52 properly means 'bright'. Perhaps Han means: The lord is (bright =) splendid (distinguished). — A is well substantiated.

200. St. 1. Chao wo yu fang 61.

St. 2. Chao wo yu ao 62.

A. Mao: y u 63 = 64 'to use'. Thus st. 1: "He calls me to use the (private) chamber"; st. 2; "He calls me to use the pleasure-ground". Cf. ode 197, phr. 65, acc. to Cheng: "The lord should not lightly (use words =) utter his words"; Tso: Siang 30, phr. 66, acc. to Tu: "I have not been able to use you, Sir". In other ex. where the early comm. likewise have said 63 = 64 (ode 255, Li: Li yün, Li: Kiao t'ê sheng, Li: Hüe ki, Li: Tsī yi, Tso: Wen 6, Tso: Chao 8) the y u 63 is better expl. in other ways.

So this sense is poorly substantiated. Even the two best ex., just adduced, should therefore probably be construed in another way: phr. 65: \*The lord should not lightly (follow his words =) let the tongue run away with him »; phr. 66: I have not been able to follow you, Sir (follow your advice). — B. Cheng: yu 63 = 67 'to follow', thus: phr. 61: »He calls me to follow him to the (private) chamber»; phr. 62: »He calls me to follow him to the pleasure-ground. But grammatically yu fang 68 cannot possibly mean 'to follow to the chamber'. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks yu fang 68 is loan for 69 'to amuse oneself and let oneself loose', and yu ao 70 for 71 'to ramble, amuse oneself', thus: phr. 61: »He calls me to amuse myself and let myself loose», etc. 63 and 72 were both \*di6g / izu / y u; 73 was \*b'iwang, whereas 74 was \*piwang, so phonetically this is quite possible; indeed, in ode 105 we even find the binome 71. But in a language like Chinese, with many homophonous words, the philologist must be very cautious. If he were free to replace any character by a homophonous one, he could, in nearly every difficult line in the Shī, prove whatever he liked. Just because of these tempting homophones, we must be doubly careful never to leave the transmitted text (in this ode there are no variants between the 4 schools) unless it is impossible to construe and obviously corrupted; and that is not the case here. — D. Another interpr. y u 63 = 'from', thus phr. 61: \*He beckons to me from the (private) chamber; phr. 62: . He beckons to me from the pleasure-ground. (and wants me to join him). — 'From is one of the most common meanings of 63, and D is certainly the most simple and plausible interpr.

Kün tsī yao yao, see gl. 220.

#### Ode LXVIII: Yang chi shuei.

201. Yang chī shuei 75.

A. Mao: y ang 76 = 77 'to rouse, excite, stir', thus: The stirred water. Cf. Huai: Pen king 78: Thereby stirring the waves; Lü: Pi ki 79: The people in the boat all got excited and threw themself into the River. — B. Chu: y ang 76 = 80, expounding further 81: 'the appearance of water flowing slowly', thus: The slowly flowing water. No text par. — A is well supported.

# Ode LXIX: Chung kn yu t'uei.

202. Hank'i kanyi 82.

A. Mao: h a n 83 (\* $\chi \hat{a}n / \chi \hat{a}n / h$  a n) = 84 'withered; when a dry-land plant grows in the middle of the valley, it is damaged by the water'. — B. Chu: h a n 83 = 85 'scorched, dried up'. Cf. Chouli: Tao jen 86: \*When there is drought\*; Yi (ap. Shuo-

是双靡之假之双猫言級之疾之和行《曷其有估如倍如舍《括如德音来括《約束 如至勿曷至哉《羊牛下括如羊牛下来如君子陽陽双陽陽双照所用其心以得走之 免公意氣陽陽甚自得双重氣揚揚双揚双則揚揚如如自得之兒《君子之兒《招我 由房《招我由教《由《用《君子無易由言《不能由我子の從《由房《遊放》由 教》遊敖(邀)双遊双房以放水揚之水水揚以激揚》以揚激波以丹中之人畫揚播於 河如悠揚以水錢流之兒双暖其乾矣幻暖《茶兒陸艸生於谷中傷於水虾燥》半暖

wen) 87: »Of all that scorches the things, there is nothing so han scorching (hot, drying) as (brightness =) fire (the orthodox version has 88). — c. Another school (ap. Shuowen, quoting this ode) reads 89. Shuowen 90 = 91 moistened by the water and then dried'. This, at first sight, reminds of Mao's gloss 84 to 83 above, which fact has caused Ts'ie yun (Lu Fa-yen knew it was Shuowen's variant for Mao's 83) to read 90 \*yân / yân / h a n. like 83. But in fact Shuowen's definition means something quite different. 90 should correctly be read \*t'nân / t'ân / t' a n (phonetic 92) and it means 'foreshore' (so often in Han texts), i. e. the sand that is 91 'moistened by the water and then dried', i. e. sometimes under water, sometimes above. — The A interpr. is easily looked through: Mao knew that han 83 meant 'scorched, dried up' (see par. under B), hence 'withered, faded', but he modified this 'withered' into 'withered through being damaged by water', because the context has chung ku 'the middle of the valley', where there ought to be moisture, not scorching sun; his modification is made ad hoc, and may be disregarded. The choice is between B and C. With B, the line refers to the t'uei plant: 82 Scorched (by the sun) are the dry ones. With C, the line refers refers to the landscape, and k'i is the modal particle: 89 The foreshore (of the brook that is normally in the middle of the valley) is dry . — The context favours B: »In the valley there are the t'u e i plants — scorched are the dry ones»: the 2nd line logically following up the 1st.

# 203. Hank'i siu vi 93.

A. Mao paraphrases 94; whether this means that siu 95 and kan are kindred in meaning is not clear; but 95 meaning 'dried meat', Mao probably meant something like 'parched and dried', thus:  $\bullet(Dried =)$  faded are the dry ones  $\bullet$ . B. Chu, while mentioning A as an alternative, says siu 95 = 96 'long', thus:  $\bullet$ Long are the dry ones  $\bullet$ . Cf. ode 261, phr. 96a:  $\bullet$ Very long and large  $\bullet$  (common). — The parallelism of the stanzas decides for A.

# 204. T'iao k'i siao yi 97.

A. Mao's gloss 98 'to croon (see gl. 58 above) t'iao-t'iao-fashion' explains nothing. But to ode 117, phr. 99, Mao says 100 = 96 'long', thus: \*Far-spreading and long\*, and this is evidently his idea here too: \*Long-drawn is her crooning\*. Cf. Shu: Yü kung 1: \*Its trees are (long:) tall\*. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en takes t'iao 100 \*d'i6g / d'ieu / t'i ao to be loan char. for 2 \*t'i6k / t'iek / t'i 'despondent, disappointed', thus: \*Despondent is her crooning\*. This word is earliest known from a poem by Tso Sī (3rd c. A. D.), which, of course, is valueless as par. for a pre-Han text. — No reason to abandon A.

# 205. Hank'i shī yi 3.

A. Mao takes shī 4 in its ordinary sense = 'moist, wet', thus: \*Scorched are (even) those wet ones \* (those growing on wet ground). — B. Wang Yin-chī proposes that the char. 4 is here a loan char. for 5 \*k'i p / k'i p / k'i, defined in T'ung su wen (2nd c. A. D.) (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) as = 6 'drying up', in Kuang ya as = 7 'sun-baked, scorched'. Thus: \*Scorched are those dry ones\*. Though there is no text support, the parallelism of the stanzas (st. 1: 8 k a n 'dry': st. 2: 9 siu 'dry': st. 3: x) decides in favour of this emendation.

# 206. Cho k'i k'i vi 10.

A. Mao: cho 11 = 12 'the appearance of weeping'. In this sense read \*tiwat / tiwat / cho (Shīwen); the same char. is read \*tiwat / tiwat / ch'o (Shīwen, Ts'ie yun) and \*diwad / tiwat / shu ei (Ts'ie yun) in the sense of 'to swallow, to gulp' (Li etc.). These are merely different aspects of the same stem: \*tiwat 'to gulp down the sobs, to weep'  $\sim tiwat$ , diwat 'to gulp, to swallow'. Thus our ode line here: \*(Gulping =) sob-

bing is her weeping. — **B.** Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 13. Cf. ode 14, phr. 14, where Mao: 15 (\* $t_i$ wat /  $\hat{t}_i$ wat / c h o) = 16 'grieved, sad'. Thus here: "Grieved (sad) is her weeping." — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

# Ode LXX: T'u yüan.

207. Yu t'u yüan yüan 17.

A. Mao: y ü a n y ü a n 18 = 19 'gives the idea of h u a n (20)' — this after Erya (y ü a n y ü a n 18 = 20). It would seem, therefore, that Mao meant simply: "There is a hare (who moves) slowly». But that is not so, for he continues 21: "This says that in government there is (slowness, slackness =) indulgence and there is (urgency =) strictness. He therefore interprets Erya's 18 = 20 as equal to 'indulgence': "There is a hare indulgently treated (allowed to run loose) — whereas (next line) the pheasant plops into the net; all symbolizing the small people being leniently treated, but the prince severely punished. Han (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi) has the same idea: y ü a n y ü a n 18 = 22, where (with Hu Ch'eng-kung) 23 is a loan for 24 (the binome 25 being well-known, e. g. from Han shu: Siao Ho chuan) 'to let loose'. Thus: "There is a hare, who is let loose a (allowed to run away). All this metaphor is, of course, mere scholastics. — B. Another interpr.: Erya: y ü a n y ü a n 18 = h u a n 20 may, of course, be taken literally: y ü a n y ü a n = 'slow'. Thus: There is a hare, who moves slowly. — The fundamental sense of the word-stem 18 \*giwān / jiwnn / y ü an is 'to drag, to trail', hence 'dragging, slow'. It is, namely, etym. the same w. as 26 \*giwan / jiwnn / y ü a n 'the dragger' = 'the shaft' of a carriage. Tso: Hi 15, phr. 27 is called in Kyü: Tsin yü 28 'shaft fields' (= chariot fields, fields for which the tax was paid in the form of war chariots). This 18 \*giwan 'to drag' belongs to the same word stem as 20 \*g'wan / yuan / h u a n 'dragging, slow' (slack, indulgent, release etc.). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the simple B is right: the ode gives a vivid picture of the two animals: »There is a hare (dragging =) moving slowly (he is cautious) — the pheasant plops into the net (he is impetuous, rash)».

# Ode LXXI: Ko lei.

208. Yi mo wo yu 29. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: y u 30 = 31, the c h i here (= 32) = 'to remember, keep in mind'. This would then be an extension of meaning from the fundamental 30 'to have, to keep', thus: \*There is nobody who (has me, holds me =) keeps me in mind \*. — B. Ma Jueich'en: 30 = 33 (both \* $gi\bar{u}g/jigu/yu$ ): \*There is nobody who betriends me\*. Cf. Tso: Chao 3, phr. 34: \*If you do not befriend our prince \*; similarly Tso: Chao 20, phr. 35: \*That is to fail to befriend our prince \*, to which Tu Yü: y u 30 = 36, which is obviously equal to 37. For Lun: Hüe er 38, Cheng Hüan's version read 39. — A is very strained, B is simple and plausible.

# 209. Takü t'un t'un 40.

A. Mao: t'un t'un 41 = 42, thus: The great carriage moves heavily and slowly.

— No text par. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode) t'un 41 = 43 'to pant, to groan', thus: The great carriage is groaning. No text par. — C. Han (ap. Yü p'ien, as cited by Wang Sien-k'ien, the ordinary versions having no such quotation) reads 44. Ts'ie yün and Yü p'ien 45 \*t'wər / t'uḍi / t'u e i = 46, thus: The great carriage is ample. No text par. — C makes a poorer rime than A, B. The parallelism with st 1, phr. 47: The great carriage rumbles, indicating the sound of the carriage, speaks in favour of B.

#### Ode LXXIII: Ta kij.

# 210. Ts'uei yi ju men 48.

It should be mentioned first that Cheng defines ts'uei as = a robe with figured upper part and embroidered skirt in five colours, whereas Cheng Chung (1st c. A. D.) to Chouli: Sī fu says the ts'uei was a robe made of felt ('down, short hair' being the primary meaning of the w. ts'uei). The two definitions of course do not exclude each other.

A. Mao: men 49 (\*mwan / muan / men) = 50 'red'; Shuowen 49 = 'red gem'. Thus: "The felt robe (figured robe) is like a red gem" (in colour). — B. Shuowen reads 51, defining this 52 (\*mwən | muən | m e n) as = 'felt stuff the colour of 53 red growing grain' (a kind of millet). This 53 \*mwən | muən | m e n (cf. Erya 53 = 54 red growing grain') is id. w. 55 \*mwən / muən / m e n (Mao = 54) 'red growing grain, red millet' in ode 245. Hence Shuowen defines the \*mwan 'red-coloured felt stuff' by the word \*mwon 'red millet'. Thus our ode line: The felt robe (figured robe) was like red millet. The stem \*mwən means fundamentally 'red', and 53, 55 is 'red grain', 52 is 'red stuff', 49 is 'red gem'. — C. Han (ap. comm. to Lie) reads 56, defining it: 57 'a robe with different colours'. Whatever the value of this definition, 58 \*b'iwən | b'iwən | fen and \*b'iwər | b'jwgi | f e i is a well-known word. Erya 58 = 59 'hemp fruit', ex. in Li (as quoted in comm. to Erya); also 58 = 'hemp', ex. in Huai: Shuo lin. Thus here: "The felt robe (figured robe) is like hemp (fruit) (in colour). — In the preceding st. there was a corr. line 60: "The felt robe (figured robe) was like young sedge" (in colour) (Shuowen var. 61, same sound). The parallelism, indicating the colour by a bot a nical comparison, is better in B, C than in A. But A however, to a certain extent supports B as against C, for it helps to show that the oral tradition was \*mwən, not \*b'iwan. B seems therefore preferable.

### Ode LXXIV: K'iu chung yu ma.

# 211. Pi Liu Tsī-tsie 62.

A. Mao and Cheng both take Liu Tsī-tsie to be a name: That Trī-kie of Liu. 63 Liu is well-known as place-name (various places, one in Cheng, one in Sung etc.), and in the name of a person: 64 Wei-shu of Liu, we find it in the inscr. of a Chou time bell (Lo Chen-yü: San tai ki kin wen ts'un 1: 2). — B. Chu takes 63 as a verb: That person there detains Tsī-tsies. — There is not the slightest reason for abandoning the ancient A.

212. Ts'iang k'i lai shī shī 65.

Yen Chī-t'uei in his Yen Shī kia hün (Suei time) states that some editions of the Mao version, as current in his time, had only one shī: 66 ts'iang k'i lai shī (whereas other Mao editions, as well as the Han version, had the reduplication). This simpler line 66 agrees better with the par. in next stanza: ts'iang k'i lai sī.

Ts'iang 將.

A. \*tsiang | tsiang | tsiang — so Shīwen says Mao has read it; tsiang is then the common particle denoting future hense: »He will come ». — B. \*ts'iang | ts'iang | ts'iang | ts'iang = so Shīwen says Cheng has read it; ts'iang is then equal to 67 'to beg, to request' = 'I beg that, I wish that' thus: \*I wish that he will come ». Cf. ode 58, phr. 68: \*I beg you not to be angry », to which (Shīwen \*ts'iang) Mao: 69 = 70, Cheng = 71; ode 76, phr. 72: \*I pray you, Chung-tsī, not to leap into my hamlet », to which Mao: 69 = 71; ode 78, phr. 73: \*I pray Shu not to repeat it ». — In our ode here, A is grammatically faulty: if 69 were the mark of future tense, it should precede the verb immediately: k'i tsiang lai, not tsiang k'i lai. But the sequence ts'iang k'i lai is well attested (through Yen Chī-t'uei) both for the Mao and the Han versions. Hence B is preferable. —

Shī shī, or, better, simply shī in (see above).

A. Mao: shī (-shī) 74 = 75 'gives the idea of advancing with difficulty'; Cheng = 76 'going slowly and (spying =) cautiously, coming alone to see me'. Thus Mao: »He will come slowly »; Cheng: »I pray for his coming slowly (cautiously)». No text par. — B. Chu: shī shī 74 = 77, thus: I pray that he may come joyously. Cf. Meng: Li lou, hia 78: "He came joyously (pleased, contented, jaunty) from the outside», to which Chao K'i: shī shī 74 = 'joyous, pleased'; yet of course this could equally well be interpr. differently, e. g. acc. to A above: »He came in tranquilly (leisurely, at ease); so the par. has little value. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: shī (-shī) has its ordinary meaning 'to bestow (gifts)'. Wang interprets: »He will surely come and bestow gifts. — The ancient tradition that the ode expresses the longing of the people for the deposed dignitaries (Tsī-tsie and Tsī-kuo) is not confirmed by the text. In st. 1 we have this disputed shī (-shī). In st. 2 we find correspondingly 79, where 80 may mean shī 'to eat' or (with Cheng) sī 'to give to eat'. In st. 3 we find 81 (where it is clear that it is one person speaking): "He gives me a gem for my girdle". Since we have the description of a gift (82) in st. 3, and since the commonest meaning of the 74 in st. 1 is precisely 'to bestow, to give', we must conclude, with Wang Sien-k'ien, that shī 74 likewise refers to a gift, and that all three stanzas refer to the bounty of Tsī-tsie and Tsī-kuo of Liu (in st. 3 it is simply said: the young gentleman of the Liu house, the name not being indicated). Thus: st. 1: ts'i ang k'i lai shī 66: »I pray that he may come and bestow a gift (upon me)»; st. 2: ts'iang k'i lai sī 79: »I pray that he may come and give me food»; st. 3: yi wo pei kiu 81: »He gives (will give) me a gem for my girdle». **213.** Tsī yi chī si 83.

A. Mao (after Erya): si 84 (\* $dz_1\tilde{a}k/s_1$ ) = 85, thus: \*How large is that black robe\*. No text par. Yet the word may be cognate to 86 \* $z_1\tilde{a}k/\tilde{a}k/\tilde{a}k/\tilde{a}k$  yi 'great' (ode 179, etc., common). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): si 84 = 86 a 'to accumulate, store up'. This would seem to mean here: \*What a great store of black robes\*. Yet it is possible that in the Han gloss ch' u 86 has the same shade of meaning as in Huai: Shu chen hün 87, where Kao Yu defines ch' u - y ü and hu - y e as = 88 'grand and large'. Thus ch' u - y ü = 'heaped, amassed' = 'large': \*How (amassed =) large is that black robe\*. If so, Mao and Han are essentially in accord.

### Ode LXXVI: Ta'iang Chung tai.

Ts'iang Chung tsī, see gl. 212.

## Ode LXXVIII: T'ai shu vii t'ien.

214. Huo lie kü kü 89.

A. Mao: lie 90 = 91, thus taking 90 to be a loan char. for the homophonous 91:

The (tire-ranks =) rows of tire surge everywhere. This is in acc. with Lu (ap. Chang Heng, Tung king fu), which directly reads 92.— B: Chu: lie 90 = 93 'amply blazing', takes 90 in its ordinary sense, thus: The blazes of fire surge everywhere. — B is just as plausible as A, for 91 (Lu) may just as well be loan char. for 90 as vice versa. But A is sufficiently good, and represents the ancient tradition (Mao, Lu), hence it is preferable.

215. Liang fu shang siang 94.

Mao has no gloss. Fu means 'horses nearest to the shaft' (in a team of 4 horses). A. Cheng (after Erva): siang 95 = 96 'to yoke', and shang 97 = 'the upmost' = 'the best'. Thus: "The two inner horses are first-class yoke-horses". For a pretended text par. see end of this gloss. — B. Chu, more fully expounded by Wang Yin-chi, takes shang 97 'the uppermost' = 98 'the foremost', thus: "The two inner horses are the foremost voke-horses, i. e. run a little in front of the side-horses, which latter (next line) 99 \* the two outer-horses go wild-geese-fashion \*, i. e. on both sides and a little behind the central ones. This is compared to next st., phr. 100: "The two inner horses have their heads in a line, the two outer horses are like arms (hands)» (i. e. slightly behind and stretching outwards). Thus both st. would describe the placing of the horses in the team. Yet 97 = 98 is a very forced expl. — C. Another school (ap. So yin to Shī ki, k. 117) reads 1. In the ode by Sī-ma Siang-ju (2nd c. B. C.) there quoted this 2 siang means 'to raise the head' (said of a horse), and the same char. occurs in Chang Heng's (2nd c. A. D.) Si king fu 3: »It (the flying beast) spreads its wings and rushes upwards. For this word 2 s i a n g 'to mount, to rise', our 95 serves as loan char. in Shu: Yao tien 4: "In their vast extent they (the waters) embrace the mountains and rise above the hills. Ho Yi-hang (comm. to Erya, Shī yen) affirms that 96 may have this same meaning of 'to rise above', and thinks the Erva entry 95 = 96 (on which A and B are based) means this 'to rise' and not 'to yoke'. Thus our ode line here: The two inner horses shang siang rise upwards (raise their heads high, rear) — to which the next st. 100 »the two inner horses keep their heads in a line » forms a par., both describing the attitude (particularly of the heads) of the horses. — C. is undoubtedly best supported by good par. (esp. the venerable Shu passage 4) and therefore preferable. — We must examine also: Ode 203. Chung jī ts'i siang 5. »(The Weaving lady [a constellation])

Ode 203. Chung jī ts'i siang 5. \*(The Weaving lady [a constellation]) during the lapse of one day goes through seven parts of the firmament\*. This is, in a general way, the meaning of the line, but differently expl.: A. Mao and Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan): siang 95 = 6 'to turn': \*She makes seven turnings in one day\*

(from one place to another). For 95 = 6 no text par. — B. Cheng: s i a n g 95 = 96, and 96 = 7 'she changes her mansion'. For s i a n g = k i a Cheng follows Erya (see A in the ode above) and he must have meant: »In one day, she makes seven (yokings =) drives, courses» (from one place to another). — C. Another interpr. s i a n g 95 = 8 'to remove', thus: During one day she is seven times removed» (from one \*mansion\*) to another). Cf ode 46, phr 9: \*It cannot be removed\*; ode 168, phr. 10: The Hien-yün are removed\* (expulsed). — C is certainly best supported.

216. Yi k'ing k'ung ki, yi tsung sung ki 11.

Y i and k i are both particles, the latter 12 \*king id. with the 13 \*king in ode 168, phr. 14, where we also have the variants 15 and 16.

A. Mao: k'ing 17 = 18 'to gallop the horses'; k'ung 19 = 20 'to stop the horses'; t s u n g 21 = 22 'to discharge the arrow'; s u n g 23 = 24 'to follow after the game'. Thus: »Now he gallops his horses, now he stops them, now he discharges, now he pursues (the game)». How k'ing 17, a boomerang-shaped 'resounding stone', could come to mean 'to gallop the horses' has been a matter for much speculation: 'he boomerangs' = he bends forward in egging on the horses (Hu Ch'eng-kung); or 17 is loan char. for the homophonous 25 k in g 'empty': 'he (empties =) exhausts' (sc. the horses), cf. 25 in ode 166 (Ch'en Huan) — all very strained. — B. Chu, while accepting Mao for k'ing, k'ung and tsung, defines sung 23 as = 26 'to cover the ends of the bow'(?) — whatever that may mean; Legge and Couvreur take it = 'to follow after the string with the hand, when letting it off', a curious idea. c. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks k'ing-k'ung and tsung-sung are not four distinct words but two binomes, both referring to the 'egging-on' and the 'letting-go' of the horses. His only argument for this is that they phonetically sound as binomes: \*k'ieng-k'ung and \*tsjung-sung. — D. Another interpr. It is difficult to see why we should not take all four words in their well-attested meanings. The chariot-hunts always followed the rules of the war manoeuvres, in which signals were called by musical Thus: He k'ing beats the resounding stone and k'ung pulls in (the horses); he tsung lets off (the string) and sung follows after (the arrow in pursuit of the game).

217. Liang ts'an ju shou 27.

A. Mao: jushou = 'to follow the hand of the driver', thus: "The two outer horses obey his hand. — B. Cheng: 'just as a man's left and right hand are assisting', thus: "The two outer horses are like helping hands". — C. Chu: 'the two outer horses are at the sides, slightly behind (the inner horses), like man's two arms (hands)', thus: The outer horses are like arms. (on both sides). (The inner horses were tied to the shaft, the outer pulled in straps). — The C interpr. is due to the parallelism with st. 2 liang ts'an yen hing (99): "The two outer horses go wild-geese-fashion" (on

席《席》大《奕·《储》信郑·信说海》《夏大》火烈具舉》烈,列,又火列具舉以機盛見《兩服上夏、京夏《駕》上》前,兩夥鴈行《四服齊首兩夥如千工兩服上寢、寢、會翅而騰驤《蕩蕩[襄山襄陵,終日七裏。反又更其肆。除,不可裏也《獨稅于裏》,却勢控忌抑縱送忌《是、及其《使其之子》,做記之子《使己之子》卷《聘馬》,控》止馬《縱及發矢》送《從禽紅曆《覆牖以兩勝如手以駟介

the sides and slightly behind), and since the last two words yen-hing describe the position of the outer horses, our jushou here should do the same. This certainly speaks in favour of C.

# Ode LXXIX: Ts'ing jen.

218. Sī kie peng peng 28. Mao and Cheng have no gloss. Shīwen reads \* $p\bar{a}ng / pvng / peng$ .

A. Wang Su (ap. Shiwen) pengpeng 29 = 30 'strong', thus: The four mail-clad horses are strong. — B. Chu: pengpeng 29 = 31, thus: The four mail-clad horses gallop unceasingly. — Chu's interpr. is no doubt due to his identifying our pengpeng with another doublet 32, which occurs in many odes:

 $\alpha$ . Ode 105. Hing jen pang pang 33. Mao: pang pang 32 = 34, thus: \*The marching men are numerous\*.

 $\beta$ . Ode 168. Ch'u kü pang pang 35. A. Mao: pang pang 32 = 36, thus: »The out-going chariots were four-horse-teamed». B. Chu: pang pang 32 = 37, thus: »The out-going chariots were numerous and ample».

 $\gamma$ . Ode 205. Sī mu pang pang 38. A. Mao: 39, thus: "The four stallions (run) pang-pang-wise, without being allowed to rest". — B. Shuowen reads 40, defined as = 41, thus: "The four stallions are ample".

 $\delta$ . Ode 260. Sī mu pang pang 38 (like  $\gamma$ ). Mao no gloss; Cheng: pang pang 32 = 42, thus: \*The four stallions are running\*.

 $\varepsilon$ . Ode 236. Sī yüan pang pang 43. Mao no gloss; Chu: pang pang 32 = 44, thus: The four bay horses were strong and ample.

ζ. Ode 261. Po liang pang pang 45. No early gloss.

 $\eta$ . Ode 297. Yi kü pang pang 46. A. Mao: pang pang 32 = 47, thus: \*With their chariots, vigorous and stately \*. — B. Chu: pang pang 32 = 48, thus: \*With their chariots, so ample \*. —

Chu's surmise that 49 and 50 are identical or cognate is confirmed by case  $\gamma$  above (ode 205) where we find the variants 50 - 51, the latter obviously but an enlarged form of 49 in our ode 79 here. Indeed, the forms 49:51:50 occur in so identical conditions and contexts, that it is excluded that they could be entirely different and non-cognate words. This identity is underlined by a comparison between odes 79 and 105: To 79, phr. 52 corresponds 105, phr. 53; to 79, phr. 54, corresponds 105, phr. 55. And the reason why in ode 79 here we do not have 56 (as in most other Mao version cases) but 57 is easy to see: the preceding line reads 58, and it was felt to be inconvenient to let two riming lines both end by the char. 50. — Yet there are both phonetic and semantic difficulties:

First, 49 here in ode 79 is read \*păng | pvng | peng by Shīwen; 51 is read \*b'ăng | b'vng | p'eng and \*b'wâng | b'vang | p'ang in Ts'ie yün; and 50 (ordinarily read \*b'ăng | b'vng | p'eng as a place name, here, however, used as loan char.) is phonetically glossed by Shīwen only in ode 105 (case  $\alpha$  above) and there read \*pwâng | pwâng | pang. It has been generally assumed (e.g. K'ang hi tsī tien) that it was so read by Lu Tê-ming also in the cases  $\beta-\eta$  (odes 168, 205, 260, 236, 261, 297) — thus differently from our 49 in ode 79.

Secondly, there are, acc. to the commentators, four different interpretations: 'to run' ~ 'unceasing' ~ '(ample in number =) numerous' ~ '(ample in size and force =) vigorous, strong'. It is exceedingly unlikely that in our doublets in these odes we have four (or at least three) fundamentally different words. Since the doublet (wr. in one way or another) in all cases refers to marching men, or marching horses, or marching chariots, it seems obvious that we have one word stem here, probably onomatopoetic,

describing vigorous movement: ode 179, phr. 28: \*The four mail-clad horses go bang-bang\*; ode 105, phr. 33: \*The marching men go bang-bang\*; ode 168, phr. 35: \*The out-going chariots go bang-bang\*; ode 205, phr. 38: \*The four stallions go bang-bang\*; ode 260 id.; ode 236, phr. 43: \*The four bay horses go bang-bang\*; ode 261, phr. 45: \*The hundred chariots go bang-bang\*; ode 297, phr. 46: \*With their chariots, they go bang-bang\*. It is little astonishing that such a word stem, quite particularly if it is onomatopoetic, is varied in four stem alternations: \*pwâng (50): \*b'wâng (51): \*păng (49): \*b'ăng (51). Whether, in odes 205 and 260, the version 38 or the version 40 best repr. the orig. Shī cannot, of course, be decided. — We must finally examine:

Ode 205. Wang shīpeng peng 59, to which Mao:  $60 \ (*păng | pong | peng) = 61$ , thus: \*The king's business is unceasing\*. Here it would seem not to be a question of vigorous movement, as in the preceding, and yet  $60 \ *păng$  is again very likely the same word. But the context is this: 62. It is one and the same word stem (\*pwîng: \*păng) in both lines, and the idea is the same; \*the king's business\* refers to an expedition of war: \*The four stallions go bang-bang—the king's expedition goes bang-bang\*.

Sī kie piao piao, see gl. 170.

219. Er mao ch'ung k'iao 63.

A. Mao: Ch'ung k'iao  $64 (*g'iog/g'i\ddot{a}u/k'iao) = 65$ . This obscure gloss has been varyingly expounded: either (Shīwen) 'double lotus (leaves)' carved in the shaft of the mao lance (this is impossible: how could k'i ao mean 'lotus'?); or (K'ung) h o = 'to lift high', thus: "The two m a o lances in double (lifting =) height (one topping over the other). 64 regularly means 'high' (see gl. 30). — B. Chu: k' i a o 64 = 'the hook at the top of a lance shaft', thus: \*The two m a o lances show double hooks\* (the hook of one lance overtopping that of the other). Chu has probably thought of the Erya entry (Shī mu) 66 'hooked (curved, bent) as a plume k' i a o', yet it is questionable whether there ever was a sense of 'bent, curved' in the stem 64 (see gl. 30). — C. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 67 ch'ung kiao ( $*kiog/kj\ddot{a}u/kiao$ ) = 68 'name of (a kind of) pheasant'. This kiao 'pheasant with long tail' occurs in ode 218. Here pheasant plumes or pennons of pheasant feathers attached as ornaments to the top of the lance, thus: The two mao lances have double pheasant (pennons). Cheng reads 64 not k'iao but kiao (\*kiog) and follows the Han expl., thus taking 64 as loan char. for 67. — In the preceding st. we have correspondingly 69: The two m a o lances have double ornaments». The par. favours interpr. C here: we know that ornamental bands and pennons were fixed on k u o dagger-axes, m a o lances and various weapons.

## 220. Si kie tao tao 70.

A. Mao: tao tao 71 (\* $d'\delta g / d'\hat{a}u / t$ ao, oblique tone. Shïwen). = 72. thus: The four mail-clad horses are running. As a par. has been adduced Li. Tsi vi 73. to which Cheng: 74 = 75 'to walk following after', thus: \*(After the sacrifice) he went along and followed after, as if (the dead) were on the point of appearing again. But first 71 is here read \*diog / iäu / y a o (Shīwen), not \*d'og, and secondly the meaning is much disputed by later comm. — B. Chu: tao tao 71 = 76 'delighted and selfsatisfied', thus: "The four mail-clad horses are delighted". Cf. ode 67, phr. 77, to which Mao 71 = 78 'harmoniously joyous'; yet there 71 is read \* $diog / i\ddot{a}u / v$  a o (Ts'ie yun. Shiwen), not \*d'ôq. Also Li: T'an kung 79: When a man rejoices, he is pleased, when he is pleased he sings, etc. But here, again, 71 is read  $*d^*6q / d^*au / t$  ao (even tone, Shiwen), not \* $d'\hat{o}q / d'\hat{a}u / t$  a o (oblique tone); and in this last ex. t' a o has the fundamental sense of 'deeply moved, intense feelings', for this same 71 t'ao occurs in the sense of '(intensely moved =) anxious, grieved' in Meng: Wan chang, shang. — B is much less plausible than A. The latter forms a good par. to st. 1. phr. 80, see gl. 218 above. Moreover, our 71 \*d'ôg (oblique tone) 'to run' is probably etym. id. with the homophonous 81 \*d'ôg / d'âu / t a o 'to tread, trample (Meng), to go, to travel'. 221. Tso süan vu ch'ou 82.

A. Mao reads 83 \* $t'i\delta g / \hat{t}'i\delta u / ch'$  ou = 84, thus: \*Swerving to the left, and drawing (the arrow for shooting) to the right \*. — B. Cheng: ch' ou 83 = 85: \*Swerving to the left, and drawing (the edged weapon) to the right \*. — C. Shuowen reads 86 \* $t'\delta g / t'\hat{a}u / t'$  a o, thus: \*Swerving to the left, and striking to the right \*. Cf. Kyü: Lu yü 87: \*To strike (the weapon into) the breast \*\* (comm. 88 'to strike'). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

#### Ode LXXX: Kao k'iu.

#### **222.** Sün chīts'ie hou 89.

A. Mao (after Erya) s  $\ddot{u}$  n 90 = 91 'equal'. This means that 90 would be loan char. for 92 \*dziwen / ziuen / s ü n, which a. o. means 'equal' (so Yi: Kua 53; also Kuan: Ch'i mi 93: \*He is equal = well-adjusted in his personal conduct\*), further: 'equally distributed, in all directions, everywhere, all round', e. g. ode 257; »Luxuriant (shady) is that young mulberry tree, 94 under it, it is even (there is shade everywhere, Mao 95 'the shade is even'); ode 262, phr. 96: »You have gone everywhere and diffused (my orders), to which Mao 92 = 97 'everywhere'. It is etym. s. w. a. 98 \* dziwěn / ziuěn /s ü n 'equally, in all directions, go everywhere, all round' (Tso etc.) and cognate to 99' \*dziwan / ziuen / s ü n, same meaning (common). Thus, in our ode here: \*(Equally =) in all matters straight and princely. — B. Chu: s  $\ddot{u}$  n 90 = 100, thus: Truly straight and princely. — C. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 1: Truly straight and princely. — A, though quite plausible in itself and well supported, is overruled by the numerous par. (odes 42, 77, 83, 95, 136) which absolutely confirm that 90 has to be read \*siwen | siuen | s ü n = 'truly' (cognate to 100 \*siěn) — whether wr. by 90 as loan char. (so Mao version) or by 2 (so Han), the proper graph. — Han (ap. Shīwen) defines 3 as = 4 'beautiful'; this is but a free extension of meaning from 'princely'.

223. Shê ming pu yü 5. Mao has no gloss to shê.

A. Cheng: shê 6 = 7 'to dwell in' = 8: \*Resting in the allotted part (the position given) without changing. Thus she 6 = 'hut, to live in, to dwell in, to rest in'. Cf. ode 199, phr. 9: \*You have no leisure to rest, to stop \* (Cheng = 10). — B. Wang Su (ap. Shīwen): shê 6 = 11, taking shê as an attribute to ming: 12 'the position received', thus: \*Not changing from the position received.\* Shê 6 often means 'to give, to bestow' (Tso etc.), thus shê ming 'the bestowed position' = 'the posi-

tion received'. — C. Another school (ap. Hing Ping's comm. to Erya) reads 13. This 14 means 'to let loose, let go', thus: \*Letting go life not change\*, i. e. \*steadfast unto death\*. Cf. Kuan: Siao wen 15: \*The saying is . . . \* refers to our ode, or at least to the same standing phrase. 16 as loan char. for 17 is common (Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng 18 is equal to Kuan: Sheng ma 19 'ice dissolving', etc.), so the line 15 is equal to 20. 17 s h ī again means '(to unloose =) let go, give up', thus 15: \*Letting go life not change\*. — A and B are quite plausible in themselves. But since 6 \*\$i\tilde{a} / \$ia / s h \hat{e}\$ is very common in the sense of 'to let go, give up' (id. w. 21), it is often synon. with 14 \*\$i\tilde{a}g / \$ia / s h \hat{e}\$ and 17 \*\$i\tilde{a}k / \$i\tilde{a}k / \$s h \hat{i}\$ (the latter two being cognate words, two variations of one stem), and if we translate also our Mao version 5 as \*letting go life not change\* = \*steadfast unto death\*, we obtain an interpr. which satisfies all three variants; it is then undecidable whether the orig. Shī had 5 \*\$i\tilde{a}-mi\tilde{a}ng\$ or 13 \*\$i\tilde{a}g-mi\tilde{a}ng\$ or 20 (15) \*\$i\tilde{a}k-mi\tilde{a}ng\$; the meaning, in any case, is the same.

224. San ving ts' an hi 22.

Ying 英.

A. Mao: san ying = 23 'the three virtues'. — B. Kuo P'o (4th. c. A. D.) followed by Chu: san ying = 24 'ornaments of the fur-coat'. Ying 'flower' in the sense of 'ornament' is common (odes 79, 300, Chouli: Chang tsie etc.). — A is comically scholastic.

Ts'an 祭.

A. Cheng: ts'an 25 = 26 'the idea of (many =) a group', thus our ode line: \*The three virtues (Cheng follows Mao above) are (a group =) complete in number \*(\*tres collegium faciunt\*). Cf. Kyü: Chou yü 27: \*When animals are 3, they are a k'ün (herd), when men are 3, they are a chung (flock, group), when women are 3, they are a ts'an\*. The comm., it is true, here says ts'an 25 = 28 'beautiful', but the context shows that it means 'a beauty-group'. — B. Chu: ts'an 25 = 29, thus: \*The three ornaments are brilliant\*. 25 ts'an fundamentally means 'fine, choice, pure' (rice, grain, food etc.), hence by extension of meaning 'pure, fine > bright, beautiful', cf. ode 203, phr. 30: \*Bright (beautiful) garments\*; ode 165, phr. 31: \*Oh, (pure =) bright I have sprinkled and swept (the courtyard)\*; Kyü: Chou yü 32: \*Beautiful things\*; Lü: Ta yü 33: \*(Brightly =) clearly, evidently\* (he saw it, when looking in the mirror); Sün: Fei siang: \*If you want to see the (tracks =) feats of the sacred kings, 34 then (do it) in those who are most (bright =) evident\* (comm. 35). — Quite the same difference of opinion concerns another ode:

Ode 118. San sing tsai hu... kien ts'ī ts'an chê 36. A. Mao: 37 'three women is a ts'an' (after Kyü above), thus: "The 3 stars are (seen) in the door — I have seen this women-triad". — B. Chu: ts'an 25 = 'beautiful', thus: "... I have seen this beauty". —

It is clear that ts' an 25 has no fundamental sense of 'three', but means 'pure — bright — beautiful' (see ex. above). But it is also evident that the word was sometimes used as a particular term for 'a set of beauties', namely of three beautiful things of the same kind, esp. of three beautiful ladies: 'a beauty-triad'. So in the Kyü passage 27, and in ode 118, phr 36: that the idea of 'a three-set of beauties' was there (with Mao against Chu) follows from the context: \*The Three stars are (seen) in the door — I have seen this beauty-triad (of women). It is quite likely that the same 'set-of-three' idea obtains also in our present ode, phr. 22: \*The three ornaments (on the furcoat) form a beauty-triad .

## Ode LXXXI: Tsun ta lu.

225. Pu tsie ku ye 38.

Mao (after Erya): t s i e 39 (\*dz'iap / dz'iap / t s i e) = 40 'quick, abrupt'. Same word as 41 \*dz'iap / dz'iap / t s i e, e. g. Sün: Kün tao 42 'quick'; Chuang: Sü wu kuei 43: »He caught the swift arrow». But in our line 38 this has been variously expounded: A. Cheng: »You do not hasten along (the way of) the ancient (princes)»—ridiculous scholastics. — B. Ch'en Huan: »You do not (urge on =) call to your help your old friends». — C. Chu: »Do not brusque an old friend» (do not suddenly break off old bonds). — C is certainly right, as shown by the context. The whole ode is a lamentation of a person (probably a woman) rejected: »I go along the great road, I grasp your sleeve; do not hate me, do not brusque an old friend».

225. Yi yen kia chi 44. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: y e n = 'I', k i a 46 = 47 'additional to u vessel', thus: Yi when you have shot (sc. the geese), y e n I will k i a c h i make them an addition (to the repast). Cf. Chouli: Hai jen 48: "The (filling =) content of the additional to u vessels (among which goose meat is enumerated); Kyü: Chou yü 49: "Thereupon there is broken meat on small tables, and additional to u vessels". Cheng's y e n = 'I' is entirely impossible; it means an unnatural rhythm: yi - ye n k i a c h i. Ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, A might be worth considering: "Yi-ye n is clearly = 50, a particle; but for the rest, a chi ii make them an additional to n is clearly = 50, and the might be worth considering and the

227. Wu wo ch'ou hi 54.

A. Mao: ch'ou 55 ( $\tilde{d}i\tilde{o}g / \tilde{z}i\tilde{z}u / ch'ou$ ) = 56, thus: •Do not reject me•. Shuowen reads 57, quoting this ode, same reading and meaning. No text par., yet the word is probably etym. id. with  $58 * \tilde{d}i\tilde{o}g / \tilde{z}i\tilde{z}u / ch'ou$  'enemy, to treat as an enemy'. — B. Cheng thinks 55 is loan char. for  $59 * \hat{t}'i\tilde{o}g / t\tilde{s}'i\tilde{z}u / ch'ou$  'ugly, to find ugly' and therefore defines it here as = 60: »Do not hate me». — No reason to abandon A.

## Ode LXXXII: Nü yüe ki ming.

228. Chī tsī chī lai chī, tsa pei yi tseng chī 61. Mao no gloss.

A. Cheng: "If I know that you will come to me, with mixed girdle ornaments I will endow you". — B. Chu: "If I know those whom you will cause to come (sc. to our home

as friends), with mixed girdle ornaments I will endow them. — Chu may have rejected A because of the chī in lai chī 62 'come to me', but it sometimes occurs that the personal pronouns of the 3rd person refer to the 1st, e. g. Meng 63: \*You have given me a lesson. No reason to abandon A.

## Ode LXXXIV: Shan yu fu su.

229. Nai kien k'uang tsü 64.

A. Mao: 65 \*tsio / tsiwo / t s ü = a particle (as often): I see this foolish (fellow).

— B. Ma Juei-ch'en: since 66 corresponds to 67 'a crafty boy' in next st., 65 cannot be a mere particle but must be a loan char. for 68 \*tsio / tsiwo / ts'ü, Shuowen = 69 'stupid', hence 66 k'uang-ts'ü: I see this foolish and stupid (fellow). This 68 ts'ü, however, is not known from any early text. (Yet it is possible that in Shu: Pi shī 70 the char. 71 (with Chu Tsün-sheng) is loan char. for this 68: Those foolish Huai Barbarians). — Since 65 as a final particle (merely filling out the rhythm) is common (odes 41, 67, 93, 95, 117 etc.), there is no reason to abandon A here. Cf. a very similar line in ode 87, where the ye in between underlines that tsü is a mere particle: 72 \*Oh, how foolish you foolish fellow are.

230. Nai kien kiao t'ung 73. Same binome in ode 86.

A. Mao (gloss under ode 86): k i a o 74 = 75 'strong-minded, energetic, vigorous', thus: \*I see this vigorous youth \*. This means that Mao has taken 74 \* kog / kau / k i a o in the sense it has in Lü: Chung hia 76: \*He nourishes the strong and vigorous \* (Li: Yüe ling in the same passage reads 77, where  $78 * k \delta g$  'beautiful', cf. Shī, ode 143, is loan for  $74 * k \delta g$  'strong, vigorous', which is recognized by Cheng, who paraphrases: 79 \* he aids the force of growth \*). The first meaning of  $74 * k \delta g$  's mall dog' (Huai etc.), here used as loan char. — B. Chu: k i a o t'ung 73 = 80 'a crafty boy', thus: \*I see this crafty youth \*. Cf. Tso: Chao 26, phr. 81: \*Do not help the crafty (cunning) persons \*, etc. (common). \* $k \delta g$  'small dog' is here again loan char. for \* $k \delta g$  'crafty'. — The par. with st. 1: \*I see this foolish fellow \* speaks in favour of B.

### Ode LXXXVII: K'ien chang.

231. K'i wu t'o shī 82.

A. Mao: shī 83 = 84, thus: \*Have I not other business (to do)\*. — B. Cheng: \*Is there no other gentleman\*. — It is true that 83 often serves for the homophonous and cognate 84 (both \*dz'igg); but here the parallelism with st. 1, phr. 85 makes B so obvious, that Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks the Mao text may be corrupted (the text having had originally 84 and the comm. 84 = 83).

## Ode LXXXVIII: Feng.

232. Sī wo hu t'ang hi 86.

户业三星在户---見此聚者对三女為聚对不夏故也內夏的速的捷級便捷的搏捷矢 仙七言加之名加幻加豆组加豆之實的於是乎有折组加豆碱品,中以為鴻鵠者則可 以結繳加之 53 弋 54 無我離方 55 聽 56 棄 55 數 57 離 57 聽 50 聽 60 惡 60 知 了 之來之雜佩以贈 之 4 來之 63 教之矣 64 乃見狂且 65 且 64 狂且 64 狡童 68 但 64 拙 20 但 慈淮夷 70 但 70 狡 童之狂也且 73 乃見狡童 70 校 35 有壯狡之志 70 養壯校 70 後 70 助長魚 50 狡 稽之小兒 81 無助狡猾 80 豈無化士 82 土 84 事 85 豈無他人 80 俟我乎堂 5 50 堂 80 模 80 死 A. Mao has no gloss, hence he takes 87 t'ang in its ordinary sense: •He waits for me in the hall. — B. Cheng: t'ang 87 \*ought to be \* 88 ch'eng 'gate-post' (ex. in Li: Yü tsao), thus: \*He waits for me at the gate-post\*. Thus Cheng takes 87 \*d'âng | d'âng | t'ang to be loan char. for 88 \*d'ǎng | d'vng | ch'eng. — Cheng's reason is that the waiting man should be outside the house (st. 1: in the lane — st. 2: at the gate-post). But this arbitrary alteration of the well-established text is quite unwarranted.

# Ode LXXXIX: Tung men chi shan.

233. Yu tsien kia shī 89.

A. Mao: t s i e n = 90 = 91 'shallow', here = 'low', thus: There are low houses. Mao then takes 90 \*dz'ian / dz'iän / t sien to be loan char. for 92 \*dz'ian / dz'iän / tsien 'shallow', cf. ode 128, phr. 93: "The small chariot with shallow (low) hack " This, again, is etym, the same word as 94 \*dz'ian 'narrow', cf. Chouli: Pao ien 95: From broad it becomes narrow. The w. \*dz'ian 'shallow' is, of course, cognate to 91 \*ts'ian / ts'ian / ts'ien 'shallow'. — B. Chu: tsien 90 = 96 'in a row', thus: There is a row of houses. This is due to a par. in odes 158 and 165, phr. 97, to which Mao = 96: The pien and tou vessels are in a row. Yet this is not a safe par., for in Chouli: Sī tsun yi we find 98: At the morning offering, he uses two hien tsun vases»; here 90 \*dz'ian means 'to make an offering' and is obviously closely cognate to 99 \*dz'ian / dz'ian / tsien 'to give a feast to, to present food to'. It is much more reasonable to take ode 158, phr. 97 in this Chouli sense: The pien and tou vessels are there with presents of food. (The reason for Mao's 'in a row' here is the par. in ode 220, phr. 100, which Mao also defines as = when pien and tou vessels are in a row; but this means really: when pien and tou vessels are there in full number, see gl. 360, and in any case the par. is not conclusive). So B here lacks the support of text par, — C. Han reads 1 (so ap. Yülan) or 2 (so ap. Yi wen lei tsü), 3 defined as = 4 'good', and further expounded 5: "There is a good man with whom you can form a family, (whom you can marry). This is very scholastic. 3 \*dz'iĕng means 'still, quiet', and of course a line yu tsing kia s h I (1, 2) may give a satisfactory sense: "There are quiet (peaceful, good) houses". — A gives the best metaphoric sense, in Cheng's development: The chestnuts at the East gate are by the low houses (mean huts with low walls: easy to jump over and snatch the fruit); do I not think of you? but you do not come to me (I am easily gained, if you want me, but you do not come).

## Ode XC. Feng yü.

**234.** Feng vü ts'i ts'i 6.

A. Mao (under ode 27) ts'i 7 (\*ts'iər | ts'iei | ts'i) = 8, thus: \*The wind and the rain are cold \*. Same meaning Tso: Chao 4, etc. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode) reads 9 \*g'er |  $\gamma \check{\alpha}i$  | h i e, same meaning. For a Shī text par. see gl. 7 above. — Both \*ts'iər and \*g'er rime satisfactorily with the 10 \*ker of line 2. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

Yün hu pu yi, see gl. 41.

235. Feng yü siao siao 11.

A. Mao: siao siao 12 (\*siôg | sieu | siao) = 13, thus: "The wind and rain are violent and rapid". No early text par. Yet cf. ode 22, phr. 14: "Hurriedly we walk in the night" (gl. 54 above). Our 12 \*siôg and 15 \*siôk might be cognate words. — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: siao 12 is loan char. for 16 \*siôk | siuk | su, in Shuowen defined as = 'deep and pure'. What Tuan means by: "The wind and rain are deep and

pure » is difficult to see. No text par. — C. Chu: siao siao 12 = 'the sound of wind and rain', thus: "The wind and rain are soughing". This \*siôg might then be cognate to 18 \*siôg | sieu | siao 'to whistle' (e. g. in Li: Nei tsê). — D. Another school (ap. Yülan) reads 19, thus: "The wind and rain are cold". The meaning of this 20 \*siôg | sieu | siao is revealed by two par. Ch'u: Kiu pien: "Lugubrious is the air of autumn, 21 it is cold and severe, herbs and trees are shaken and shed their leaves". Ts'ê: Yen ts'ê 22: "The wind is cold, the water of the Yi is cold" (here the parallelism with han 'cold' confirms the sense). — A is not impossible, and C is very tempting. But the parallelism of the stanzas decides for D: St. 1, phr. 23: "The wind and rain are cold" — st. 2, phr. 11 (19): "The wind and rain are cold". The char. 12 \*siôg is a hapax legomenon, and is probably a mere enlarged variant of 20 \*siôg.

#### Ode XCI. Txi k'in.

236. Tsīning pu sī yin 24.

Ning means 'why', see gl. 77 above.

A. Mao: s  $\bar{i}$  25 = 26 'to practise', thus: Why have you not practised sounds (song and music). No text par. — B. Cheng: s  $\bar{i}$  25 = 27 'to continue', paraphrasing further = 'not transmitting sounds enquiring for me', thus: Why have you not continued the (sounds =) messages (enquiries). S  $\bar{i}$  = 'to continue' is common, cf. Tso: Siang 19, phr. 29: \*Carry on the undertaking. — C. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 30, defining 31 as = 32 'to transmit', thus: \*Why have you not transmitted (sounds =) messages. — A is excluded by the par. of next st. 33: \*Why have you not come \*. The idea is obviously that of a person neglected and forgotten: \*Why have I heard nothing from you \*? Undecidable whether B 25 \*dziəg or C. 31 \*diəg best repr. the orig. Shī. Y u y u w o s  $\bar{i}$ , see gl. 90.

237. T'ao hi t'a hi tsai ch'eng k'üe hi 34.

A. Mao: t'a o-t'a 35=36 'to go and come and see each other', thus: •You go and come at the look-out tower on the walls. For 37, read alt. \*t'og / t'âu / t'a o and \*t'iog / t'ieu / t'i a o (Shīwen, Ts'ie yün), cf. Chuang: Ta tsung shī 38: •To mount to Heaven and roam through the clouds, to j a o-ti a o ramble, having no limits •. The 37, here (Shīwen) read \*d'iog / d'ieu / ti a o, t'i a o, = 39 'to turn about', i. e. too ramble, go and come in various directions. 37 \*t'og: \*t'iog: \*d'iog would thus be three variations of one and the same word stem. For 40 \*t'ât / t'ât / t'a (Shīwen, Ts'ie yün), which is quoted 41 in Yülan, cf. ode 305, phr. 42: \*Brisk was that Wu (Ting) of Yin \*, to which Mao: 42 \*t'ât = 43 'the idea of briskness'. Thus 35 \*t'og-t'ât would mean fundamentally: 'to ramble and hurry along', run hither and thither, come and

有踐家室如踐以淺及俊切小找傻收以懷以以博為懷《行列兒勿邊豆有踐《其朝踐用兩獻尊《餞四邊豆有楚人有靖家室《有節家室》疏靜《善公有善人可與成家室《風雨淒淒》邊《寒》風雨潛浴《喈》風雨瀟瀟《瀟《暴疾《肅肅宵征尔肅《瀟《溪清《嘯《風雨蕭蕭《蕭蕭《蕭瑟兮草木摇落《風蕭蕭兮易水寒》。風雨淒淒以于寧不嗣音公嗣《智知續以不傳聲問我如嗣事以子寧不治音》說以寄到于寧不來以挑竹達方在城闕兮如往來相見兒切挑以登天遊霧挨挑無極知宛轉《達《捷《捷《捷俄飲武《疾意《健《逃《輕假跳躍之兒》放公《佛。衮《跳

go restlessly. Cf. also Fang yen (W. Han colloquial): 44 \*t'ât = 45 'to run away'. — **B.** Chu: t'a o 37 = 46 'nimble and jumping'; t'a 40 = 47 'licentious, frivolous'. Thus: \*You are nimble and frivolous at the look-out tower on the wall \*. For t'a o, cf. 48 'light' in Ch'u: Li sao, Tso: Siang 26 (see below, end of this gloss); Chu seems to think also that 37 was cognate to 49 'to jump'. For his t' a = 'licentious', no text par. — C. Shuowen reads on the one hand 50, defining 51 \*t'oq / t'âu / t' a o as = 52 'slippery', on the other hand 34 (like Mao), defining t' a 40 as = 53 'to go and not meet'. This, at first sight, would seem to be just the opposite to Mao above (36), but it has quite another import. It has to be seen in the light of another Shuowen gloss: 54 = 55 'slippery'. This 54 is id. with  $56 *t'\hat{a}t/t'\hat{a}t/t'$  a = 'to slip along, to skirt', cf. Tso: Süan 4, phr. 57: \*It (the arrow) glanced on the pole \*. When Shuowen defines 40 \*t'ât as = 53, quoting this ode, it means that Hü takes 40 \*t'ât to be equal to 54, 56 \*t'ât 'slippery' (elusive, difficult to 'meet', get hold of) and thus synonymous with 51 \*t'og 'slippery'; 58 or 35 is then a synonym-compound. Thus, our ode line: »You are so slippery and elusive at the look-out tower on the wall». — D. Another school (ap. Ch'u hüe ki) reads 59. Cf. ode 203, phr. 60: The going and coming gentlemen» (see below). This agrees with A above, thus: »You go and come at the look-out tower on the wall. — A, well supported by text par., is strongly corroborated by this ode 203 ex. mentioned under D and hence preferable. — We must examine the latter in detail.

Ode 203. Tiao tiao kung tsī 60. A. Mao: tiao tiao 61 (\*d'iog | d'ieu | tiao, t'iao, Shīwen, Ts'ie yün) = 62 'walking alone'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 63, and says 64 (\*d'iog | d'ieu | tiao, t'iao, Ts'ie yün) = 65 'to go and come'; only a W. Han text par. (Han Shī wai chuan 66). — C. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 67, where 68 is a loan char. for the homophonous 61. — D. Chu = tiao tiao 61 = 69 'light and delicate, not enduring toil'. Cf. Ch'u: Li sao 70: »I hate its lightness and smartness»; also wr. 71, cf. Tso: Siang 26, phr. 72: »Ch'u's army is light and unstable». — In this ode 203, the B meaning 'to go and come' (whether the word is wr. 61, 64 or 68) is strongly corroborated by the context; the st. runs 73: »The going and coming gentlemen, walking in the roads of Chou, they have been going and coming, they cause my heart to ache». Here obviously interpr. B (Han) is solid, and tiao (61, 64, 68) is the same word as 74 'to ramble' in the Chuang ex. 38 above.

### Ode XCIII: Ch'u k'i tung men.

238. Liao lo wo yün 75. Mao and Cheng have no gloss.

A. K'ung: y ü n 76 is a particle, thus: "She will rejoice me". Shiwen records the variant 77. In the same way, in Shu: Ts'in shi, the current, orthodox text has 78, but K'ung Ying-ta's version (T'ang time) orig. had 79; ode 192, phr. 80, Shiwen variant 81; ode 303, phr. 82, Cheng: 76 is the ancient graph for 77. So it is amply confirmed that the graphs 76 and 77 are interchangeable. — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 83: "She will rejoice my soul". If the orig. graph was 77 (variant recorded by Shiwen) in the Mao version, this may, of course, equally well be a short-form for 84 as the particle (= 76). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shi.

Hao yi k'i kin, see gl. 364. 239. Ch'u k'i yin tu 85.

Yin was an outer, covering wall, built in a curve from the principal one, in front of the gate, as a protection.

A. Mao (after Erya): t = 86 (\*to | tuo | tu, Ts'ie yün and Shīwen, or \*did | zia | s h ê, Ts'ie yün) = 87 'wall tower'. Thus: •I went out by the tower on the covering wall •. — B. Shuowen: K'ung quotes Shuowen thus: 88 'the yin - tu is the double gate at the

curvature of the wall'. Thus yin-tu would be a binome, and tu would not be the tower. The ode line: \*I go out through the double gate\*. Yet the current editions of Shuowen have simply 89: 'yin is the double gate inside the wall', and 90: 'tu is the yin tu', which may very well mean: tu is the tu tower of the yin double gate'. So possibly K'ung's quotation is erroneous. — C. Cheng: tu 86 is read like 91 and is = 92 'the market village inside the covering wall, outside the city proper'. Thus: \*I go out to the suburban village inside the covering gate'. Yet this same Cheng, in his comm. to Li: Li k'i, repeats the Erya definition tu = 'tower'! — No reason whatever to abandon A.

240. Fei wo sīts'u 93. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: 93 is equal to the 94 of the preceding st. The latter means: They (the girls) are not those on whom my thoughts rest. Consequently 95 is here a verb, analogous to 96. Shïwen elaborates this in reading 95 = 97 \*dz'o / dz'uo / ts'u. When Erya (Shī ku) has an entry 97 = 96, it has probably this ode in view (and the par. just adduced), and possibly it is based on a version which read 98. Thus: They (the girls) are not those to whom my thoughts go. — B. Another school (mentioned in Shīwen) reads 95 \*tsio / tsiwo / ts ü, taking it to be a final particle, as often (odes 41, 67, 117, 198). Thus: It is not of them that I think. — The parallelism of the stanzas decides for A.

Quite the same difference of opinion concerns another line:

Ode 95. Nü yüe kuan hu, shī yüe ki tsü 99. Mao has no gloss.

A. Shīwen reads 95 \*dz'o / dz'uo / t s'u = 97 = 100, thus: The girl says: have you been and looked? The gentleman says: ki t s'u I have gone (and looked). — B. Chu reads 95 \*tsio / tsiwo / t sü (particle), thus: The gentleman says: I have. — Here the parallelism speaks in favour of B. In the 1st line k u a n h u, the last word is a particle, and therefore in the ki t s ü of the 2nd line, the last word should best be taken also to be a particle.

#### Ode XCIV: Ye yu wan ts'ao.

241. We study here 6 ode lines which are logically connected.

Ode 106, st. 1. Yi jo yang hi, mei mu yang hi 1.

Ode 106, st. 2. Yi tsüe ming hi, mei mu ts'ing hi 2.

Ode 106, st. 3. Yi tsüe lüan hi, ts'ing yang yüan hi 3.

Ode 94. Ts'ing yang yüan hi 4.

Ode 47, st. 2. Yang tsü chī si ye 5.

Ode 47, st. 3. Tsīchīts'ing yang, yang tsü chīyen ye 6.

如发考達考示发及滑品行不相遇的表示滑血汰认知汰較及发達的化考達等血化 他公子以他化及獨行自及耀耀公子在耀的住來包《耀歌燮考歌的苕苕公子的苕 的輕薄不奈勞苦之息的余貓延其他巧为爱加楚師輕發和使然公子。行使用行。既往 既來。使我也疾以挑於聊樂我員不負的公理若用云來的若用員來的孔云的孔員的 景員維河的聊樂我應此聽的出其團間以問的城畫或團間,城曲鱼門的團城內鱼門 如閱園園的都及國外曲城中市里的歷我里且以歷我思存的且沒存的個內歷我思 但以女日觀乎士曰既且加住,抑若揚芍美目揚芍之特嗟名芍美目清芍、特喹變 方清揚婉芳、清揚婉芳、揚且之哲也(子之清揚。楊且之顏也;青陽婉芳。仰若 In ode 94, Han (Wang Ying-lin, Sung time, confirmedly Yi wen lei tsü) reads 7. In ode 106, Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 8. 9 \*diang is only a variant for 10 \*diang. There are two difficulties, concerning the words y ang and ts'ing.

Y ang 16. A. Mao to ode 47: 10 = 11 'the (breadth =) expanse above the brows', i. e. 'forehead'. Y ang 10 'to raise' also means 'to spread out, expand', cf. Li: Li ki 12: \*Its power appears, it expands and reaches to all things \*. That y ang 'expanse' as a noun serves in the sense of '(broad) forehead' is quite natural. Similarly Mao to ode 106: Y ang 10 = 13 'the broad expanse'. To ode 94, phr. 4 he says 14: (here kien cannot mean 'between': 'beautiful between the brows and eyes' would make no sense; we must translate:) 'beautiful around the brows and eyes', y ang thus again referring to the forehead (close above the brows). Han (ap. Yü p'ien) also defines (ode 106) 15 as = 16 'the part above the brows'. — B. Chu in odes 47 and 94 follows Mao (17); but in ode 106: 3 he says y ang 10 = 18 'the beauty of the eyebrows'; and in ode 106: 1 he says: y ang 10 = 19 'the movements of the eyes'! An incredible inconsistency.

Ts'ing 清. A. Mao: In ode 47: 3 (phr. 6) he says: ts'ing 20 = 21 'the gaze being clear and bright', thus: \*Your bright eyes and your forehead\*. But in 106: 2 (phr. 2) he says 22: '(the part) above the eye is ming, the part below the eye is ts'ing'; the ode line would then mean: \*Oh, the upper rand of your eyes! Oh, the beautiful eyes with their lower rand\*. The definition of ming 23 is based on Erya (24), but Mao has added that of ts'ing as a counterpart. Yü p'ien reads 25, defining 26 as = 27 'the part between brow and eye', and the same word wr. 28 occurs in the Si king fu (2nd c. A. D.). No early text par. — B. Chu takes ming 23 and ts'ing 20 in their ordinary sense: \*Oh how illustrious, the beautiful eyes how clear\*. — The parallelism of the st. here clearly confirms B, that ming 23 has nothing to do with any part of the face. St. 1 phr. 29: \*Oh, how rich\*; st. 2, phr. 2: \*Oh, how illustrious\*; st. 3, phr. 30: \*Oh, how beautiful\*. —

From all this we may clearly deduce, that y ang 10 (9) has a meaning '(expanse =) forehead'; that ming 23 has nothing to do with the 26 or 28 'upper rand of the eye'; and that ts'ing 20 does not mean 'lower rand of the eye' (an arbitrary guess of Mao's) — it simply means 'clear', as usual. We arrive at the following translations:

Ode 106: 1 (phr. 1): How beautiful the forehead — beautiful are the eyes and the forehead.

Ode 106: 2 (phr. 2): Oh, how illustrious, the beautiful eyes how clear.

Ode 106: 3 (phr. 3): •Oh, how beautiful, the clear forehead how beautiful.

Ode 94 (phr. 4): The clear forehead how beautiful.

Ode 47: 2 (phr. 5): The whiteness of the forehead.

Ode 47: 3 (phr. 6): Your clear forehead — the colour of your forehead.

242. Hie hou siang yü, shī wo yüan hi 31.

A. Mao: 32. This gloss has mostly been interpr. thus: hie hou = pu k'ier huei, i. e. hie hou means 'to meet unexpectedly' (so Chu etc.); but then Mao would have written either: hie hou pu k'ier huei ye Ł; or: hie hou pu k'ier huei \( \frac{1}{2} \). As it stands, Mao's pu k'ier huei certainly (as pointed out by Ch'en Huan) is not a gloss to hie hou but is a paraphrase of y \( \text{u} \) 33, which frequently means just 'to happen to meet, to meet accidentally'. Cf. Kuliang: Yin 8, phr. 34: 'to meet accidentally is called y \( \text{u}' \). Thus Mao has said nothing here of hie hou, but this he supplies in ode 118 (cf. below in this gloss); Mao: hie hou 35 = 36 hie y \( \text{u} \) e '(relieved =) carefree and happy'. Thus, in our ode here, 31: \( \text{we met carefree and happy, and so my desire was satisfied \( \text{.} \) Char. 37 is then but an enlarged from of 38 in its reading  $\frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2} \frac$ 

41: \*Its people are peaceful and jovial \*. — B. Chu: hie hou 35 = 34 'to meet accidentally' (Chu thinks, though erroneously, that he follows Mao here). Shïwen records a var. 42, in which 43 is not read \*ku / k u (as in its ordinary sense of 'to meet') but (Shïwen) \*g'u / y u / hou, being loan char. for 39. — We must compare:

Ode 118. Kien ts'ī hie hou 44. A. Mao (as stated above): hie hou 35 = 36, thus: I have seen this happy (person). — B. Chu: hie hou 35 = 45 'to meet', thus: »I have seen this meeting». Shiwen records the variants 38 (hie 'carefree', see above) and 46, the latter not read  $*ku / k\varrho u / k$  ou (as in its ordinary sense of 'to meet') but (Shīwen) \*g'u / you / h o u, being loan char. for 39. — C. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 47, defined as = 48, which is unintelligible. — The parallelism of the stanzas here decides in favour of A: st. 1, phr. 49: »I have seen this good person» st. 2, phr. 44: »I have seen this carefree and happy (person) - st. 3, phr. 50: »I have seen this beauty-triad». (Cf. gl. 224 above). Interpr. B in the 2nd st.: »I have seen this meeting, would be sheer nonsense. Since thus Mao is confirmed in ode 118, this corroborates his interpr. in our ode 94 above as well. This being so, Shīwen is certainly right in reading 43 and 46 as \*g'u and not \*ku, considering them as loan char. for 39. — It should be pointed out that in Chuang: K'ie kie there occurs a binome 51 (Shīwen k'ie k'ou, i. e. \*k'ĕg-k'u), and in Ḥuai: Jen kien a binome 52 (kiek ou, i. e. \*keg-ku), both meaning 'falsely to concoct (lies)', which have nothing to do with our hie-hou of the Shī.

#### Ode XCV: Chen Wei.

243. Fang huan huan hi 53.

A. Mao: h u a n 54 (\* $\chi w \hat{a}n / \chi u \hat{a}n / h$  u a n) = 55 'ample', sc. flow of water. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 56 \* $g'w \hat{a}n / \gamma u \hat{a}n / h$  u a n, meaning the same. Shuowen reads 57, also read \* $g'w \hat{a}n / \gamma u \hat{a}n / h$  u a n. — C. Another school (ap. Han shu: Ti li chī) reads 58 \* $kw \hat{a}n / ku \hat{a}n / k$  u a n. — The meaning is always the same, but the word stem is varied in three aspects: \* $\chi w \hat{a}n$ : \* $g'w \hat{a}n$ : \* $w \hat{a}n$ . Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

Shī yüe ki tsü, see gl. 240.

**244.** Sün hü ts'ie lo *59*.

Sün 60 is loan char. for 61, see gl. 222. In Lu (ap. Kao Yu, comm. to Lü) it is quoted 62, another variant (also in Erya), same reading and meaning.

A. Mao (after Erya) h  $\ddot{u}$  63 (\* $\chi iwo / \chi iu / h \ddot{u}$ ) = 64, thus: There is truly great (space) and pleasant. Other ex. in odes 245, 256, 261, all with this meaning. Also coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen, so also Han shu:

陽兮,陽《楊《眉上廣《德發揚謝萬物》及廣揚《眉目之閒婉然美也以陽《眉上 乃揚湄上廣《眉之美》目之動如清《視清明如目上為名目下為清或名《目上為 名於特達類兮《顯如眉目閒如昭如特達昌兮如特達婆兮》避返相遇適我願兮如 避返不期而會適其時願 點遇以不期而會曰遇如避近以解說之兒如避如解如近如 始似其人夷姤如避遺如遺似見此避近如相遇《觀切見此避觀如不固之兒如見此 良人如見此祭者以解垢以解遺切方淚烫兮珠淚如盛切方洹洹兮巧方浊流兮切方 灌灌兮如洵訏且樂《洵《恂《詢公詩《大《恂盱且樂《盱《樂兒《盱豫《張目 Ti li chī) reads 65, this 66 \* $\chi iwo / \chi iu / h$  ü defined as = 67 'pleasant, merry', thus: \*It is truly enjoyable and pleasant \*. As par. has been adduced Yi: kua 16, phr. 68, to which Liu Hiang (ap. Shīwen to Yi) = 'pleased expectance'; yet this interpr. is contested, for Wang Su (ap. Shīwen) says 66 = 64 'great'. And 66, Shuowen = 69 'to open the eyes wide', has the fundamental sense of 'to make the eyes g r e a t'; indeed, when Han shu: Ti li chī quotes our ode 65, Yen Shī-ku (7th c. A. D.) still defines 66 as = 64 'great'. In Ta Tai: Sī tai 70, the w. 71 (\* $\chi iwo$ ) is said by some to mean 'pleased', by others 'astonished', so this par. is not safe either. A better par. might be Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 72: \*The merry butterfly \* (comm. 73 \* $\chi iwo / \chi iu / h$  ü = 74 'pleased, merry'). — A agrees with the regular use of this word in the odes, hence it is preferable.

245. Liu k'i ts'ing yi 75.

A. Mao: liu 76 (\* $li\delta g / li\partial u / liu$ ) = 77, thus: \*Deep is the clear (stream) \*. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode): liu 76 = 78 'a clear flow of water', thus: \*Clear-flowing is the clear (stream)». In Ch'u: Kiu pien 79, Chu Hi (followed a. o. by Wang Fu-chi) says liu-liu 76 = 'like flowing water': »I mount the fine horse which is (running smoothly) like flowing water \* (Hung Hing-tsu here says liu-liu 76 = 80water being clear, but it is difficult to see how Hung can apply this sense to the passage commented upon). — C. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 81, defining 82 as = 83 'clear', thus: \*Clear is the clear (stream) \*. Cf. Chuang: T'ien ti 84 (which is probably an allusion to our ode line). 82 is read \*gliôg | lieu | l i a o by Ts'ie yun and Shīwen (yet Shīwen adds that Li Kuei read \*gliôg / ligu / liu). Shuowen defines 82 as = 85 'clear and deep', and the comm. to Chuang follows this, thus: \*Clear and deep is its (the Tao's) clearness». The idea of 'deep, wide' comes out further in Kuan: Siao Deep and richly full (sc. attitude: an attitude of majestic importance). But then, again, sometimes 82 (quite apart from its serving as loan char. for 87, e.g. Chuang: Chi pei yu) occurs in the sense of 'to flow', e. g. Lü: Ku yüe 88: »(The great Yü) submitted and irrigated the flowing waters». — Thus for 76 we have three commentary meanings: 'deep': 'clear': 'to flow'. For 82 we have: 'clear': 'clear and deep': 'to flow'. It seems probable that the two words \* $li\hat{o}g$  and \* $gli\hat{o}g$  (\* $gli\hat{o}g$ ) are cognate. Since the word stem is obviously akin to the ordinary 89 \*liôg 'to flow' (cf. the Ch'u ex. under B and the Lü ex. under C), this is very likely the primary sense, and the other nuances come in accessorily: the deep flow not being turbid like that of shallow, rushing water. Hence our line: Deep-and-clear-flowing is the clear (stream). Yi k'i tsiang hüe 90. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: t s i a n g g g 1 = 92 'great', thus: "They sport greatly". This meaning is well attested, see gl. 15. — B. Chu: g1 \*tsiang should be g3 \*siang: "They sport together". — C. Another interpr.: t s i a n g g 1 is the ordinary particle of future tense: "They are going to sport". — Ts i a n g as an adverb 'greatly' (A) is somewhat forced; B is an arbitrary guess. C seems most simple and natural.

## Ode XCVI: Ki ming.

Ch'ung fei hung hung see gl. 19. 247. Wu shu yü tsī tseng 94.

A. Mao paraphrases: 95. There is dissention as to the meaning of Mao's gloss. Either, with K'ung and Shīwen, he read 96 f  $u^2$  j e n 'those men': »May I not be hated by those men» (referring to some »dignitaries» who are not in the text!); or he read f  $u^1$ -jen 'the lady': »May I not be hated by you». Mao evidently takes 97 in the common sense of 'hoffentlich'. But the wording of the Shī text cannot be pressed into agreeing with Mao's construction. — B. Cheng: s h u 97 = 98, paraphrasing 99:

\*Do not cause all the officials, because of me, to have hatred against you; word by word: \*wu may not shu the crowd yü for me tsī you tseng hate\* — a dreadful forcing of the text. — C. Chu: \*May I not yü tsī together with you be hated\*. Shu as in A, yü 100 is equal to 1, cf. Sün: Ta lüe 2: \*Yet they have something which they have together (in common)\*. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: yü 100 = 'to give, to bequeathe', thus: \*May I not yü tsī give you tseng hatred\*. A construction like yü tseng 'to give hatred', with an abstract verbal noun as object, is very un-Chinese. — C alone seems to satisfy the line.

#### Ode XCVII: Süan.

248. Tsī chī süan hi 3.

A. Mao: süan 4=5 (or, acc. to Shīwen 6) 'agile, nimble', thus: \*How agile you are\*. 4, when, as here, read \*dziwan / ziwan / süan, is always a loan char. for 7. This means 'to turn round', to which the meaning 'agile' stands near. In the sense of 'fast, quickly-growing' (grain etc.) 7 was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 8, this 9=10, thus: \*How beautiful you are \*. No text par. — C. Ts'i (ap. Han shu: Ti li chī) reads 11, = 'a place name', thus: \*You go to Ying\*. — The C reading fails in the rime. A and B are both plausible, but A is better supported.

249. Yi wo wei wo hüan hi 12.

A. Mao: h ü a n 13 (\*xiwan | xiwan | h ü a n) = 14 'sharp, quick, smart', thus: •You bowed to me and said that I was smart. Cf. Sün: Fei siang 15: •A smart (clever) village boy \*; other ex. Ch'u: Kiu chang, Hanfei: Chung kiao etc. Coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 16, this 17 \*g'iwan | g'iwan | k' ü a n = 10 'beautiful'. Thus: •You bowed to me and said that I was beautiful ». Cf. ode 145, phr. 18: •Tall and beautiful ». 19 is here read \*g'iwan | g'iwan | k' ü a n, and Shīwen records the var. 17. In ode 145 (phr. 18) Chu says 19 means 'beautiful hair', an error due to another par. (ode 103, see end of this gloss). — Both A and B are plausible and well supported, but A suits the context better (logically following up line 3 above). — We must examine further:

up line 3 above). — We must examine further:

Ode 103. K'i jen mei ts'ie k'üan 20. This char., again, is read

\*g'iwan / g'iwan / k'üan. A. Mao: k'üan 21 = 22, thus: \*That man is handsome
and beautiful\*, thus taking 21 to be loan char. for 17. — B. Shuowen: 21 = 23 'the
hair being beautiful', thus: \*That man is handsome and has beautiful hair\*. No text
par. with this meaning. 21 means 'a kind of hair-dress', cf. Li: Tsa ki 24: \*When
unoccupied and at ease, she had a k'üan head\* (the hair, without a pin, on each
side of the head). Shuowen's expl.: 21 = 'beautiful hair' is an attempt to reconcile
Mao's 'beautiful' with the char. 21 (rad. 'hair') in the Mao text, not realizing that 21

is here a mere loan char. — c. Cheng: 21 is loan char. for 25 'strong, robust'; this would in reality mean that 21 is loan char. for 26 \*g'iwan / g'iwan / k ' u an 'robust' (ex. in Chuang: Jang wang); thus: "That man is handsome and robust". — u is an unsupported speculation. A and u are both plausible, but A has better support in the Shi itself (ode 145, see phr. 18 above) and is therefore preferable.

## Ode XCIX: Tung fang chi ji.

250. Li wo tsi hi 27.

**A.** Mao: 1 i 28 (\*liər) = 29 (\*liər). Cheng expounds this: \*(The beautiful person is in my chamber), li (he has come according to) the rites, and wo tsi I go to him». In the same way, st. 2, phr. 30: »(he has come acc. to) the rites, and I set out (= go with him). As par. has been adduced ode 304, phr. 31: He follows his rules of conduct without transgressing, to which Mao likewise 28 = 29; here, indeed, Han (ap. Wai chuan), Lu (ap. an inscr. by Ts'ai Yung) and Ts'i (ap. Han shu) all read 32. and Mao has evidently meant that 28 \*lier is a loan char, for 29 \*lier (see gl. 179 above). Yet that is not conclusive; for 28 in its ordinary meaning of 'to tread' also gives a good sense in 31: »He follows his (tread =) path without transgressing»; so the Mao text in ode 304 may really represent a different etymology and meaning than that of Han, Lu and Ts'i. In our ode 99 here, the Mao interpr, is exceedingly scholastic and impossible. — B. Chu: li 28 = 33 'to tread', further expounded 34: This girl (Chu takes 'the beautiful person' to be a woman) treads in my footsteps and comes to me». That li wo should mean ('to trample me' =) 'to tread in my footsteps' is excluded. — C. Another interpr.: Since verbs of motion are regularly construed as transitive verbs in Chinese: 35 'go to me', 36 'to run to Ch'u' etc., there is no reason why we should not take li wo = 'stepping to me': »(That beautiful person is in my room and) stepping to me, approaches; st. 2, phr. 30: ... stepping to me, sets out (starts).

251. Tsai wo t'a hi 37.

A. Mao: t'a 38 (\* $t'\hat{a}t/t'\hat{a}t/t'$ a) = 39 'inside the door'. Thus: "That beautiful person is in the space inside my door». This tallies with Han (ap. Shïwen): t'a 38 = 40 'the space between door and screen'. Yet Mao's gloss is not quite safe, for Li shan (comm. to Wsüan: Shang ko hing) quotes Mao 41 = 'inner door', cf. B below. — **B.** Ma Juei-ch'en: t'a 38 = 'a small door'. Thus: "That beautiful person is in my door". This is because t'a has this meaning both in Han shu: Fan K'uai chuan (1st. c. A. D.) and in Si king fu by Chang Heng (2nd c.) (t' a = 'a small door in the inner palace'); and he finds this confirmed by the version of Mao's gloss 41 given by Li Shan. — C. Ch'en Huan adduces Li: Nei tsê, where 42 \*d'ât / d'ât / t a means (acc. to Cheng) 43 'side room', and thinks our 38 here should be read \*d'ât / ta, thus: "That beautiful person is in my side-room». — It is not necessary to make (with C) an arbitrary alteration of the traditional reading (\* $t'\hat{a}t$  into \* $d'\hat{a}t$ ), for 38 (\* $t'\hat{a}t$ ) may fundamentally mean 'door' (B) and then by extension of meaning "room", as pars pro toto, cf. our expression »he lives next door». So we have it in Huai: Ts'i su 44: »Wide rooms, spacious rooms, side-by-side lying rooms, connected rooms are where people find their comfort». Here t'a is obviously not a 'door' but a 'room'. So also in our ode: "That beautiful person is in my (door =) room, which forms an exact par. to st. 1, phr. 45.

## Ode C. Tung fang wei ming.

252. Chê liu fan pu, k'uang jen kü kü 46.

A. Mao: "The willow is a brittle wood . . . to break willow (branches) and with

them fence the garden has no use for its protection; k ü k ü 47 means 48 neglectful». Further expounded by Cheng as a metaphor: he breaks willows to fence his garden (a useless thing to do) — the reckless fellow is neglectful (he does not strictly make his time observations in the night, so as to be on duty in time). Thus, our ode line: \*(Like one who) breaks willows to fence the garden, the reckless man is neglectful». This scholastic interpr. of course is impossible. Moreover, for k ü (-k ü) = 'neglectful' no text par. — B. Chu: k ü k ü 47 = 'to look with scared glances', i. e. 'to fear' (the ordinary meaning of k ü). Cf. Li: Tsa ki 49: When he (the son) walks in the road, if he sees one who resembles (the dead father), his eyes look with scared glances, if he hears his (father's) name, his heart is scared (flurried) \*; Li: T'an kung 50: \*He looks around himself flurried, as if he sought (the dead father) but could not find him »; ode 114, phr. 51: The good man is anxiously careful; etc. (common). Chu expounds: though a willow fence is little to be relied on, even reckless fellows are scared and dare not trespass (how much easier is it to observe the warning of dawn and hurry to the duties!). Thus, our ode line: »He breaks willows to fence his garden, and the reckless fellows stand in awe». This scholastic interpr. is worse, if possible, than A. — C. Waley: k \u00fc k \u00f cited, flurried': . He is breaking the willows of his fenced garden, the mad fellow in his flurry. — Since the whole ode describes an official rising quickly at dawn in order to hurry to court (in his haste he puts his clothes upside down, he rushes through the garden so as to break the fence), C is certainly right.

#### Ode CI: Nan shan.

Hiung hu suei suei, see gl. 195.

Ho yu huai chī, see gl. 110 a.

253. St. 3. Ho yu kü chī 52.

St. 4. Hoyu ki chī 53.

A. Mao (after Erya):  $k \ddot{u} 54 (ki6k | kiuk | k \ddot{u}) = 55 (*g'i6ng | g'iung | k' i u n g — does Mao mean that they are cognate?) 'to exhaust, go to the extreme'; ki <math>56 = 57$  'to come, arrive', also 'to the extreme, to the utmost degree'. For  $k \ddot{u} 54$ , cf. Shu: P'an Keng 58: \*You exhaust and distress yourselves \*; same word wr. 59 in ode 258, phr. 60: \*Exhausted, reduced to extremities are the heads of departments \*; further ex. in Ts'è: Ts'i ts'è etc. K i 56 in the same sense is common. These laconic glosses of Mao's say little of how he imagines the general sense of the lines. — B. Cheng (after Erya):  $k \ddot{u} 54 = 61$  'full, to the full'. Cf. ode 191, phr. 62: \*Sending down these full (ample) quarrels (disorders) \*, to which Mao: 54 = 61. (K  $\ddot{u} 54$  occurs also in the sense of 'to nourish, to feed', and hence 'to fill, full'). Cheng expounds the lines thus: 52 \*Why do you give her h er full (let her have all her wishes) \*; 53 \*Why do you let her 56 = 57 come \* (sc. to Ts'i). — C. Chu, while repeating Mao's 54 = 55, has the same idea of taking  $k \ddot{u} 54$  as a causative verb: 52 \*Why do you let her (exhaust =) indulge to the

權止提力履我即亏益履力禮力履我發亏力率履不越工率禮不越功臟为此女隨我 時而相就也如歉我不弃楚力在我聞亏如聞切門內如門屏之間如內門在連利來宣 相廣夏陽屋連進通房人之所安也如在我室亏如折柳樂園狂夫瞿瞿如瞿相無守之兒 如行於道路見似日瞿聞名心瞿如瞿瞿如求而弗得以及土瞿瞿双曷又鞠止如曷又 極之丹鞠分鬱茲極双至五爾惟自鞠自苦刃鞠《鞠哉庶正《盈《降此鞠鮂《曷又 extreme \* (sc. her desires); in 53 he takes 56 as synon. with 54: \*Why do you let her go to extremes. — All these speculations are based on the surmise that the ode describes the lady Wen Kiang of Ts'i, who, after having married prince Huan of Lu, returned to Ts'i and carried on an incestuous intrigue with her brother, prince Siang of Ts'i. Acc. to Cheng (B) and Chu (C), the first two stanzas of the ode would be directed against prince Siang, the last two against prince Huan. This identification, however, is very uncertain. All there is in the wording of the ode is this: a lady of Ts'i has gone to Lu and been married acc. to the full rites required; a lover who has lost her is grieved and is being admonished. St. 1: Now that she is already married, 63 why do you further think of her; st. 2: Now that she has used the road to Lu, 64 why do you further follow her»; st. 3: (The proper rites of announcement of the match have been made:) »Now that announcement has been made to the parents, 52 why do you further exhaust yourself: (why are you so desperately sorry) — same sense as in the Shu and Shi ex. above (58, 60); st. 4: (There has been a proper go-between for the match:) »Now, since one (sc. go-between) has been obtained, 53 why do you further go to extremes. In short, all four last lines refer to the longing and grief of the lover, who sees his lady love go to be married to another man.

#### Ode CII: Fu t'ien.

254. Wei yu kiao kiao 65.

A. Mao and Cheng have no gloss, nor does Shīwen indicate the reading, which means that it should be taken in its ordinary reading and sense: \*kiog / kiäu / k i a o 'high', see gl. 169 above, thus: \*Its weeds are high \*. — B. Lu (ap. Fa yen) reads 66 \*g'iog / g'iäu / k' i a o, same meaning. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. 255. Wei yu kie kie 67.

Mao: k i e k i e 68 = k i a o k i a o (in 65), thus: »Its weeds are high». The char.  $68 \text{ read } *g'\underline{i}at / g'\underline{i}at'$  k i e means 'perch for fowls', and 'outstanding, surpassing others' (see gl. 175). Here, however, Shīwen records the tradition that it should be read  $*k\underline{i}at / k\underline{i}at / k$  i e, and this has caused dissention: A. Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en:  $68 *k\underline{i}at - k\underline{i}at$  is here loan for 69 'to lift', cf. ode 57, phr. 70: »The rushes and sedges are tall »; this 69 is there read alt.  $*k\underline{i}at / k\underline{i}at / k$  i e and  $*g'\underline{i}at / g'\underline{i}at / k$  i e. — B. Wang Sien-k'ien: 69 means 71 'outstanding' and therefore 'tall, high'. This means that Wang rejects Shīwen's sound gloss and reads  $*g'\underline{i}at$  (as in ode 62 etc.). — A, which agrees with both Mao and Shīwen, is preferable.

**256.** Yüan hi, lüan hi 72.

A. Mao: y ü a n - l ü a n (\* iwān-liwan) = 73 'young and beautiful', thus: \*How beautiful, how handsome\*. — B. Shuowen reads 74, defining 75 (\*liwan | liwān | l ü a n) as = 76 'docile', thus: \*How beautiful, how docile (gentle)\*. — 77 is well attested both in the sense of 'beautiful' and of 'docile' (see gl. 120). Now here, as 2nd element of a binome, Mao has 78 \*liwan 'beautiful', which is common (odes 39, 42, 106), Shuowen has 75 \*liwan 'docile', which is a hapax legomenon. That A is preferable is underlined by ode 106, where we have the same combination: 78 a.

## Ode CIII: Lu ling.

**257.** Lu ling ling 79.

A. Mao: ling ling 80 = 81 'the sound of the neck-rings', thus: "The hounds (go) ling-ling". 80 \*liĕng (or rather \*liĕn, in spite of Shïwen, because of the rime) is

then an onomatope. — B. Han (ap. Tu shī ki and ap. Wang Ying-lin, Shī k'ao) reads 82, where 83 probably is nothing but a variant of 80. —  $\overline{c}$ . Shuowen reads 84, this 85 \* $l_l \in n / l_l \in n / l_l \in n$  defined as = 86, thus: The hounds are strong. But this interpr. is doubtful, for there are no text par., and Yü p'ien says lin-lin 85 = 'a sound', thus taking \*liĕn to be an onomatope, just as Mao's 80. This is confirmed by ode 126, phr. 87, where  $lin - lin \ (*liĕn) =$ 'the sound of chariots' (Lu ap. comm. to Ch'u and Ts'i ap. Han shu read 88), and by Ch'u: Kiu ko 89 lin lin (\*lien) = 'the sound of chariots', which all shows that the element 90 was used for onomatopes. — D. Another school (ap. Po t'ie) reads 91: The hounds have double belis. 80, as shown by the archaic graph (a drawing of a bell above a kneeling man, see BMFEA 12, p. 341) was the primary form of 92 'bell'. — The superiority of version and interpr. D is strongly confirmed by the parallelism: st. 1: 91 The hounds have double bells > st. 2: 93 \*The hounds have double rings \*  $\sim$  st. 3: 94 \*The hounds have double compound-rings. Even the Mao version 79 may be so interpreted, for ling ling (like 95 'several men' 96 'several days') may be used distributively, cf. 97, gl. 170. Thus: 79 »The dogs ling-ling have several bells».

K'i jen mei ts'ie k'üan, see gl. 249.

258. K'i jen mei ts'ie ts'ai 98.

A. Mao: ts'ai 99 (\*ts'aj / ts'āi / ts'ai, Shīwen, Ts'ie yūn) = 100 (\*dz'ag / dz'āi / ts'ai) 'talented', thus: "That man is beautiful and talented". Mao evidently thinks the two words are cognate. — B. Shuowen ts'ai 99 = 1 'strong, forceful', thus: "That man is beautiful and strong". Cf. Lun: Tsī lu 2: "Friends are intense and for cible (in their admonishments)". 99, though the same char, as in our ode, is there read \*sijg / si / s ī (Shīwen, Kuang yūn),  $*ts'ijg \sim *sijg$  would be two variations of the same stem. — C. Chu (reading sai): 99 = 3, thus: "That man is beautiful and much bearded". He has two reasons for this interpr. First, in st. 2 we have correspondingly 4, which Chu (erroneously, see gl. 249) took to mean: "That man is beautiful and has beautiful hair". In our st. 3 here, Chu looks for something corresponding to 'hair'. Secondly: in Tso: Süan 2, we have a binome 5 (\*sig / sai / sai, or \*sig / si / si), which Shīwen defines as 3 'having much beard'. But this is very uncertain. Tu Yü (3rd c. A. D.) says instead: 5 = 6 'with much hair at the temples', and Kia K'uei (1st c. A. D., ap. Shīwen) and Fu K'ien (2nd c. A. D., ap. K'ung's comm. to ode 231) both say 5 = 7 'white-haired'. So nothing can be built on this Tso par. — B alone has the support of a good text par. and is preferable.

Ode CIV: Pi kou.

259. K'i yü fang kuan 8.

懷止4 易又從止5年莠騙騙4維莠裔裔57維莠策栗 4 荣 5. 揭为莜茭揭揭刃特立之兒双烷芳雙芍刃少好鬼为蛇艿煸艿55煸水顺双烧双蟹及特唑燮艼清揚烷芍37虚令仓岭32蠼蹬蹬屋泠泠55分4虚群猫55猛 4.健55有車鄰鄰 18有車鞣鳞55鞣解2 4. 工工 1. 虚重仓丸鈴丸虚重環丸虚鱼跨55人人56日日55 銀號或其人美且偲如便如才 1. 强力 2. 朋友切切便他 3. 多點之兒 4. 其人美且整 5. 于思 6. 多點之兒 7. 白頭兒 8.



A. Mao: k u a n 9 (\*kwen | kwan | k u a n) = 10 'a big fish', thus: \*The fishes are bream and k u a n \*. — B. Cheng (after Erya): k u a n 9 = 11 'the young of fishes, fry'. This means that 9 would be loan char. for 12 \*kwən, see C next. Thus: \*The fishes are bream and fry \*. — C. Another school (ap. Yülan) reads 13: \*The fishes are bream and fry \*. Erya 12 (\*kwən | kuən | k u n) = 11 'spawn, fry, the young of fishes'; text ex. in Kyü: Lu yü. In Chuang: Siao yao yu, there is a fabulous enormous fish called k u n 12. It may be a humoristic trick of Chuang's, quite in line with the taoistic doctrine that 'great' and 'small' are only relative and unreal, to call a giant fish a \*kwən 'fry'. Yet it is not excluded that 12 \*kwən there is loan for 9 \*kwen 'a big fish'. It should be remembered, finally, that there is a 18 \*kwən | kuən | k u n 'a kind of fish', text ex. only as N. Pr. — The context shows (par. in st. 2: \*The fishes are bream and tench\*) that it is a question of considerable fishes, worth catching, and therefore A is preferable.

**260.** K'i yū wei wei *19*.

A. Mao: wei wei 20 (\*diwər | iwi | wei) = 21 'going out and in without being (possible to) stop', thus: The fishes go freely out and in (sc. in the worn-out traps). It seems doubtful whether Shïwen is right in reading 20 in its ordinary way (\*diwər)—is it not here rather loan char. for. 22 \*ts'iwər | ts'wi | ts' uei 'to run about', cf. Shī ki, Sīma Siang-ju chuan 23: To jump and run about ts' uei = 24 'to run').— B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 25 (\*giwed | iwi | yi), defined as = 26 'not possible to stop'; meaning of ode line same as A. Cf. Kuan: Ch'u yen 27 freely, untrammelled, at his ease'. Yi 27 means fundamentally 'to leave aside, to leave out', hence here 'to let go'.— The rime is 28 \*\$iwər, so A is better.

#### Ode CV: Tsai k'ü.

**261.** Tien fu chu kuo 29.

A. Mao: fu 30 = 31 'the (covering =) screen of a carriage'. — B. Chu: fu 30 = 32 'the back door of a carriage'. This builds on Kuo P'os comm. to Erya. Erya says 33: "The leather of a carriage, that in front is called hen, that at the back is called fu, to which latter Kuo P'o 34: "With leather one covered the back door". — Kuo's comm. simply means that there was a leather screen hanging down and covering the back door, so Chu's interpr. is quite misleading.

262. Ts'i ts i fa si 35.

**A.** Mao: fa s i 36 = 37. This, as expounded by K'ung, would mean 'from evening starting, until dawn', thus: The lady of Ts'i started in the evening. (and drove the whole night). — **B.** Cheng: Mao's 36 = 37, as understood by Cheng and well expounded by Ma Juei-ch'en would mean: si fa 38 equal to ye fa 39, night breaking', hence Mao's 37 tsī si fa chī tan = 'from the breaking of night, until dawn. The fa si 36 of the ode text would then be a binome equivalent to si fa 38 'the breaking of the night'. Cf. ode 196, phr. 40: »When the dawn is breaking, I cannot sleep, to which Mao: ming fa 4I = 42 'from the (opening =) breaking of night until daylight'. In our ode line here then the principal verb of the clause should have to be understood: "The lady of Ts'i at the breaking of night" (sc. was there in the Lu road). — C. Han (ap. Shīwen): fa 43 = 44 'dawn'. In contrast to the preceding (B), where fa-si 36 was taken to be a binome = 'the breaking of night', Han takes fa 43 alone to mean 'dawn', and si independently means 'night'. That the Ts'i school had the same idea is revealed by a paraphrase in Yi lin: 45. The line would thus mean: "The lady of Ts'i fa morning and si evening" (sc. was there in the Lu road) — the principal verb again having to be supplied. — D. Chu: fa si 36 = 'started (from the) night', i. e. started from the place where she had passed the night (a desperate attempt to construe a difficult phrase). — Whatever was the idea of Mao's (A or B, the latter more probable in the light of his gloss 42 to ode 196), it is certain that both B and C have a great weakness in the absence of a principal verb in the line. Hence A is the only possible: f a s i 36 is a brachylogy for 46 (so also Waley).

263. Sī li tsi tsi 47.

A. Mao: tsi tsi 48 (\*tsiər | tsiei | tsi) = 49, thus: The four black horses are beautiful. Cf. ode 209, phr. 50: Stately and dignified (the same inverted in ode 250); ode 238, phr. 51, same meaning ('stately'); ode 235, phr. 52, Mao same meaning (Chu here: tsi tsi = 'numerous', as in ode 239, phr. 53, where it means 'numerous'; yet Mao is certainly preferable); further Kyü: Ch'u yü 54: Dignified and stately .— B. Ch'en Huan: tsi tsi 48 = 55 ts'i ts'i (\*dz'iər | dz'iei | ts'i) 'equal, even, of the same quality', thus: The four black horses are well matched He adduces as a counterpart ode 179, phr. 56: Our horse are (identical =) well matched. Then 48 \*tsiər here and 55 \*dz'iər would be two variations of the same word stem, which might be quite plausible. — A is strongly supported by par. and should be followed.

264. Ch'u ei pei ni ni 57. Var. 58 ap. Shīwen.

A. Mao: n i n i 59 (\*niər | niei | n i) = 60, thus: The hanging (ends of the) reins are numerous. (on the team of four horses). Cf. ode 167, phr. 61, where 58, Shuowen var. 62, is read \*niər | niei | n i = 'the a m pleness of the flowers', thus: What is that ampleness. 'Ample': 'numerous' are two aspects of the same fundamental meaning, many Chinese words (e. g. 64) meaning both 'ample' and 'many, numerous'.—

B. Another school: Yü p'ien and Ts'ie yün have a char. 65 (Kuang yün 66) \*niər | niei | n i, defined as = 67 'the appearance of reins hanging down'. This probably betrays another ancient Shī school which read 65—66, with interpr.: The hanging (ends of) the reins are pendant-likes.— C. Chu: n i n i 59 = 68 'soft', thus: The hanging reins are softs. This probably is based on a Kuang yün definition 65 = 69 'soft', which, however, is lacking in the earlier Ts'ie yün.— A is best supported.

265. Ts'i tsī k'ai ti 70.

A. Mao: k'ai ti 71 (\*k'ər-d'iər) = 72 'joyous and (easy =) pleased'. K'ai ti 71 are loan char. for 73 'joyous', and indeed K'ung's Mao version as well as Kuo P'o's Lu version (ap. comm. to Erya) read 74. Thus: The lady of Ts'i was joyous and pleased. Cf. 75 in odes 174, 219 etc. (to 219 variant 73 in Shī ki and Han shu). K'ai 76 is etym. id. with 77 \*k'ər | k'āi | k'ai 'triumphant' (Shī, Tso etc.). — B. Cheng: K'ai ti 71 is equivalent to 78 of the preceding st. (which Cheng interpr. as = 'the breaking of night', see gl. 262), k'ai 79 (\*k'ər) being loan char. for 80 \*k'ər | k'āi | k'ai

'to open' (ex. in Kuan: Ts'i ch'en), and ti 81 (\*d'iər) being loan char. for 82 \*diāk / iāk / y i = 83 'bright'. The latter he supports with a par. in Shu: Hung fan, concerning which he says: \*the ku-wen version of Shu for 82 had 81 \*. In the present orthodox text of the Hung fan we read: 84 (\*diāk / iāk / y i), but this is a correction made by Wei Pao (8th c. A. D.), all the earlier versions read 82 'clouds dispersing, clearing sky', and this is rendered by 85 in Shī ki: Sung shī kia, which variant is the basis of Cheng's speculation here. He may also have built on Erya (Shī yen) 73 = 86, the meaning of which, however, in spite of all discussions of later Erya commentators, remains obscure. Thus he thinks that k'a i ti 71 is = 87 'the opening of light', and our ode line here, 70, par. with the 88 of st. 1, would mean: \*The lady of Ts'i, at the opening of light \*(sc. was in the Lu road). Cheng's speculation is very weakly founded, and a loan char. 81 \*d'iər for 82 \*diāk is phonetically impossible (in spite of Shī ki's paraphrasing 82 by 85, which is a problem in itself — it is certainly not a kia tsie phonetic loan). — A is extremely well substantiated and obviously right. It has also good parallels in st. 3 and 4.

Hing jen pang pang, see gl. 218. Hing jen piao piao, see gl. 170.

#### Ode CVI: Yi tsie.

Yi jo yang hi, mei mu yang hi, see gl. 241.

**266.** K'iao ts'ü ts'iang hi 89.

A. Mao: ts'iang 90 = 91 'the appearance of the k'iao ts'u agile running', thus: \*How agile is his agile running\*. Shuowen (after Erya): ts'iang 90 = 92 'to move'. — B. Chu says 93: 'ts'u ts'iang means wing-like' (as if with outstretched wings). We should compare:

Ode 209. Tsi tsi ts'iang ts'iang 94. Mao: 94 = 95'expresses that they have a stately appearance'. (In ode 250 inverted: ts'iang ts'iang ts'i ts'i).

Yili: P'ing li 96: The assistants, turning to the North, move in a stately way.

Li: K'ü li 97 — again referring to the ritual movements of the officers.

Sün: Ta lüe 98: »What is beautiful in court is the stately movements».

Shu: Kao yao (Yi Tsi) 99, var. 100, expl. by Sī-ma Ts'ien as = 1, thus: \*The birds and beast soar and dance\* (Yet Shuowen, quoting this Shu line, expl. ts'iang ts'iang as = 'the sound of birds and beasts coming to eat'!). —

Chu's gloss to our ode (B above) is evidently based on the Shu par. It is clear that A (Mao's 'agile', Shuowen's 'to move') does not exhaust or give the essential meaning of ts' i ang. The combined examples reveal this to be: 'to move in a stately and well-balanced, rhythmical fashion'. Thus, our line: •He runs agilely, moving in a stately way.

Yi tsie ming hi, mei mu ts'ing hi, see gl. 241. Yi tsie lüan hi ts'ing yang yüan hi, ibid.

**267.** Wu tsê süan hi 2.

A. Mao: süan 3=4 'even'. This laconic gloss has been differently expounded (Chu Tsün-sheng: 'even' = 'allround, perfect'; Ch'en Huan: 'even' = 'keeping strictly in place in the dancing row'). But most probably K'ung is right: 'even' = 'keeping strictly even with the music'. Süan 3 (\*siwan | siwan | süan) is well attested in the sense of 'to count' (see gl. 68). Here then: \*When dancing, he is in counting\*, i. e. well-timed, even with the music. — B. Cheng: süan 3 = 'foremost among his equals', i. e. 'outstanding, choice': \*When dancing, he is choice\*. Süan 3 = 'to select' is common. — C. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 5, the 6 \*tswân | tsuân | tsuân | tsuân defined as = 7 'responding to the festive music'. This definition suggests

that 6 is loan char. for 8 \*swân / suân / s u a n 'to count', the meaning being the same as in A: \*When dancing, he is in counting \*. — No reason to abandon A.

268. Sī shī f a n h i 9. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: fan 10 = 11 'to revert': The four arrows (revert =) come (one after the other) to the same place (all hit the centre of the target). — B. Han (ap. Shïwen) reads 12, defining 13 as = 14 'to change': The four arrows (change =) succeed one another. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

#### Ode CVII: Ko kū.

## 269. Kiu kiu ko kü 15.

Mao: kiu kiu 16 = 17 'to bind, to tie, to twist'. Cf. Tso: Hi 24, phr. 18: \*He (tied together and joined =) united all the clan in Ch'eng Chou \*. Shuowen defines 16 as = 'rope made of 3 twists'; in the sense of 'rope' it is common in Han texts; cf. also Kuan: Tu ti 19: \*In spring, in the 3rd month, when Heaven and Earth are dry, and the waters are like ropes and tatters (= narrow rills)\*. This kiu 'rope, to twist, to bind', however, has been variously expounded in our ode:

A. K'ung: kiu kiu 16 = 20 'sparse, loose' (not dense), i. e. made of loosely twisted strands, plaited, not tightly woven, thus: \*Twisted are (the strands of) the dolichos shoes. — B. Ch'en Huan takes kiu in its concrete sense of 'rope, string': \*Stringed are the dolichos shoes \* (provided with strings to bind them to the foot). We know that the kü had such strings, generally called ki 21, cf. Li: Nei tsê 22: \*On his shoes, he fastens the strings \*. — The reduplication (kiu kiu) generally serves, in the Shī, to denote a quality, an appearance of an object described. If the line had run 23, Ch'en's interpr. would have been preferable; with the formulation kiu kiu ko kü 15, A is more in accordance with the style of the Shī.

270. Shan shan nü shou 24.

A. Mao reads thus: shan 25 (\*sem | săm | shan) = 'slender, delicate', thus: sThe delicate hands of the girls. Coll. current in W. Han time (Fang Yen 25 = 26).

B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 27. 28 was \*siam | siām | sien, same meaning.

C. Shuowen reads 29 \*săm | săm | shan = 30 'beautiful hands' (probably but a freer rendering of the same fundamental meaning). — \*sem ~ \*săm ~ \*siam were probably three variations of the same word stem. 28 'thin, slender' is common; 25 occurs in ode 81 meaning 'to grasp', and 29 in Huai: Yao lüe meaning 'to block, stop up'. Here, in the sense of 'slender', they are loan char. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

**271.** Hao jen t'i t'i *31*.

A. Mao:  $t^{i}$  i  $t^{i}$  i 32 (\*d'ieg | d'iei | t'i) = 33 '(quiet and thoughtful =) tranquil', thus: •The beautiful person is tranquil'. Cf. Huai: Shuo lin 34: •Those (birds) which are at rests (sit s t i l l) are shot •; Sün: Siu shen 35: •If they do not follow the rites,

知商子發夕,巧趨膽兮如膽如巧趨怠双動或趨膽翼如也以濟濟膽膽如言有容也 水果介北面陰焉如大夫濟濟士蹌蹌及朝廷之美濟濟蹌蹌如島獸蹌蹌呱膽,翔舞 及舞則選兮。選《齊。舞則纂兮《纂》應雅樂。算。四矢反兮四反以復以四矢 變兮以變《易以糾糾葛曆《糾刀繞線》糾合宗族於成周內春三月天地乾燥水糾 列(裂)之時也稀疏以養之曆蓄養及葛曆有糾以揚揚女手以揚以細以纖纖女子以纖 双攤纖女子 20 好手兒 31 好人提提及提53 安諦以提提首射 35 不由禮則勃亂提優 x

they are either rebellious or slow (sluggish, inert) and careless s: Sün: Siu shen 36: »To progress with difficulty is called t'i (\*d'ieg) slow»; ibid. 37: »Slow and careless». - B. Lu (ap. Erva with Kuo P'o's comm.) reads 38: but there are two different interpr. in that school: either, with Erva and Kuo: t'i t'i 39 (\*d'iea) = 40, agreeing with Mao: "The beautiful person is tranquil"; or, with Wang Yi (ap. comm. to Ch'u): t'i t'i 39 = 41, thus: "That beautiful person is handsome". For this latter, cf. Tung-fang So (2nd c. B. C.): Ts'i kien 42: »Si-shī was beautiful». — C. Another school (ap. Po t'ie and Shuowen hi chuan) reads 43. This t'i 44 (\*d'ieg) is defined in Shuowen as = 45 'garments being thick' (rich, ample), and in Yü p'ien 46 'garments being correct (in full order)', thus: \*The beautiful person is in full and regular dress . No text par. — It is tempting to accept C, because the line follows immediately upon a detailed description of the dress; The slender hands of a woman can sew the skirt; she makes the waist, the collar, and the beautiful person wears it; hao jen t'i t'i the beautiful person is (thus) in full dress . . . ». Yet C is entirely without text support. whereas A is best substantiated by par.: A is therefore safest. — There is one more ex. of a doublet with this graph:

Yüan jan tso pi, see gl. 290.

### Ode CVIII: Fen tsů ju.

272. St. 1. Shu yi hu kung lu 53.

St. 2. Shu vi hu kung hang 54.

St. 3. Shu yi hu kung tsu 55.

A. Mao: lu 56 = 57 'chariot' (cf. Chouli: Kin kü 58: "The king's five kinds of chariots"); kung hang 59 = 60 'the ranks escorting the prince'; kung tsu 61 = 62 'the prince's followers'. Thus our ode: 53: "(He is beautiful beyond measure), he is very different from the prince's chariot-men. (in a war chariot, the prince had two companions); 54: "He is very different from the prince's escort"; 55: "He is very different from the prince's chariots, kung hang 59 = 'the superintendent of the prince's chariots; kung hang 59 = 'the superintendent of the prince's ranks; kung tsu 61 = 'the superintendent of the prince's family'. In our ode: 53: "(He is beautiful beyond measure, but) he differs from (what befits) a superintendent of the prince's chariots" (54: "... of ranks", 55 "... of the prince's family" respectively). Chu follows Cheng. — Mao is clearly preferable. The line expresses admiration and gives an effectful climax: he is beautiful beyond measure, he is far superior to all the prince's followers of different kinds.

A. Mao: 65. This gloss is brachylogical and means: 'one among 10.000 men is y i n g'.

Cf. Huai: T'ai tsu 66: The one who in wisdom surpasses 10.000 men is called ying; Ta Tai: Pien ming ki 67: »One who in virtue surpasses 1.000 men is called ying». This is really an extension of meaning of the fundamental sense of 68 'flower': the \*flower\* of 10.000 (1.000) men. So in Li: Li yün 69: \*The (flowers =) heroes of the three dynasties. Thus here: He is beautiful as the (flower =) most exquisite one. (among the crowd). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: ying 68 (\*'iăng) is loan char. for 70 (\*g'iwěng) 'precious stone', or for 71 (\* ¡ăng) Shuowen = 72 'the lustre of jade'. The former is phonetically excluded, the latter may be plausible, thus: \*He is beautiful like a lustrous jades. Cf. Mu T'ien tsī chuan 73: »In the Dragon fountain there is (the lustre of jade =) lustrous jade \* (etc., common). Here again 68 (71) is merely an extension of meaning: \*\* the flower of jade \*\* = the most pure and exquisitely lustrous jade. — C. Chu: ying 68 = 'flower': •He is beautiful like a flower. — The three st. have correspondingly: st. 1: 74 »He is beautiful beyond measure »: - st. 2: 64 "He is beautiful like a ying" - st. 3:75 "He is beautiful like a jade". For ying, Mao (A) has followed the analogy of st. 1: 'beautiful beyond measure': beautiful like one among 10.000'. Yet st. I has a different construction (wu tu 'not having measure') than st. 2 and 3, which have a simile (ju 'like'). Hence Ma (B) draws the analogy between st. 2 and 3: 'Like a lustrous jade': 'like a jade'. C disregards this analogy, since it does not include st. 1 as well, and takes y in g 68 in its primary, concrete sense: 'flower'. B would be preferable if there were any ex. of ying (68, 71) standing a lone in the sense of lustrous jade; but it never so occurs, but always in combinations like y ü y i n g (73) — the real stone name preceding. Hence C seems safer and preferable. A is much too scholastic and far-fetched.

## Ode CIX: Yüan yu t'ao.

274. Wei wo shī ye kiao 76. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: shī 77 = 78, thus: "They say that I, in my service (business, work), am arrogant". Cf. ode 288, phr. 79: "It (Heaven) ascends and descends in its working", to which Mao: 77 = 78. — B. Chu takes 77 in its ordinary sense: "They say that I am an officer who is arrogant". — C. Waley: "They say: my good sir, you are impudent". — C would be tempting if instead of 80 we had 81 or 82; but 80 does not introduce an oratio recta. A is very forced, B preferable. For the ye 83, marking a person as subject (here shī 'officer'), cf. Lun: Wei cheng 84: "Huei is not stupid". Wei wo shī ye wang ki, see gl. 182.

## Ode CX: Chi hu.

275. St. 1. Chī pi hu hi 85. St. 2. Chī pi k'i hi 86.

A. Mao: hu 87 (\*g'o/ywo/hu) = 'bare hill', k'i 88 (\*k'iog/k'ji/k'i) = vegeta-難進日促环促侵 24 好人娱娱 35 娱妇安 4 好兒 4 西施娱娱 4 好人 程程 4 提 4 还 在 在 取端正 免 4 歸飛提提 44 羣兒 4 翅 50 瑕 取 5 羣 飛安 閒之兒 22 提提 55 殊異 4 公路 55 殊異乎公行 55 殊異乎公族 56 路 57 車 57 王之五路 58 公行 40 從公之行 43 公族 44 公 屬 44 公路 4 美如英 45 萬人為英 48 過萬人 者謂之英 40 德過千人 日英 40 英 40 三代 之英 70 瓊 4 英 70 東 70 五光 73 龍泉 有玉 英 70 美無度 70 美如玉 76 謂 43 士 也騙 75 士 75 平 76 15 降駅士 24 謂 10 日 2 云 52 也 40 回也 不愿 55 防彼 站 5 46 院 饭 10 5 50 站 56 50 10 56 50 1 tion-clad hill'. — **B.** Erya and Shuowen: h u 87 = 'vegetation-clad hill'; Shuowen k' i 88 = 'bare hill', Erya 89 = 'bare hill'. About the latter, Shīwen says that the San ts'ang already identified it with 88, and hence Shīwen reads 89 \*k'igg | k'ji | k' i; yet Kuang yün reads it \*kgg | kij | k a i (Ts'ie yün does not record the word). — All the later comm. think that Mao's definitions have been inverted by careless copyists and should agree with B. When Shīwen remarks that \*Wang Su followed Erya\*, this probably reveals that Wang Su (3rd c.) had a Mao text where the erroneous inversion had not yet taken place.

275. Shang shen chan tsai 90. Mao has no gloss to shang. A. Cheng: '91 shang means at the time when, in the war service, you are (a squad, a unit =) a sectional officer', thus: \*Up there (in the army), be careful. — B. Lu (ap. the Han stone classics, as repr. in Li shī) reads 92: \*May you be careful. (shang = 'would that', optative). — 93 and 94 are homophonous \*diang | \*siang |

A. Mao: y u 98 = 99. This builds on Erya: 100 = 99. Thus: »May you be able to come, without being stopped» (by the enemies). (May you bravely carry through your task). Yet Erya's gloss refers to ode 229, phr. 1, to which Mao: y u 98 = 99, and which is expounded by the Han school (ap. K'ung) 2: »It (sc. Heaven) does not approve of (this person =) me». This is because y u 98 a. o. means 'to agree with, to accord with', thus: »It (Heaven) does not accord with (this person =) me», i. e. approve of me. This interpr. of ode 229, however, is unaceptable, for c h ī t s ī 3 must refer not to »me» but to another person, as shown by st. 1, phr. 4: »That man has gone far away and caused me to be alone». Thus 1 must mean, with Chu, either: »That man does not lay plans» (is thoughtless), or, better: »That man 5 is no good». Consequently, even in ode 229, 98 = 99 is inadmissible. Still less can here in ode 110, with Mao, the y u lai 6 be equal to k'o lai 7. — B. Chu: y u 98 = 'still': »May you still come and not stop there» (or: be stopped there?). Yu 98 = 'still', an adverbial term with an optative value. — B is clearly preferable.

## Ode CXI: Shi mu chi kien.

Sang chê hien hien, see gl. 88. Sang chê yi yi, ibid.

## Ode CXII: Fa t'an.

278. Ho shuei ts'ing ts'ie lien yi 8.

A. Mao: lien 9 (\*lian | lian | lien) = 10 'the wind going over water, forming (strokes, patterns =) waves'. It does not mean, with Legge, 'ripples', for that is (in contrast to our line here) 11 in st. 3 (see gl. 280 below), defined by Mao as the 'strokes' caused by a 'small wind'. Thus here: "The water of the Ho is clear and wavy". Cf. ode 58, phr. 12, to which (Mao having no gloss) Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) = 13: "The tears are flowing", and Han (ap. Yü p'ien) 14 'tears descending'; cf. also Yi: Kua 3, phr. 15, and Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê 16. Etymologically, the word is akin to 17 (\*lian) 'seriatim, in a sequence' (wave upon wave; tear after tear, dripping successively).—

B. Lu (ap. Erya) reads 18 (19 being a variant of the particle 20; the Han stone classics ap. Li shī had the particle 21 instead). This 22 \*glân | lân | lan is in Erya defined as = 23 'big waves', thus: "The Ho is clear and big-waved". Cf. Meng: Tsin sin, shang 24: "You must look at its (the water's) big waves". Shuowen says that 9 (A above) is a variant of 22, but since they are by no means homophonous (\*lian: \*glân), this is but a forced attempt to reconcile Mao and Erya. — Undecidable whether the orig. Shī had 9 \*lian or 22 \*glân.

## 279. Pu su ts'an hi 25.

A. Mao: s u 26 = 27 'empty', here 'emptily', i. e. without working for it: •He does not eat the tood of idleness. The same Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) and Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun). So already Meng: Tsin sin: •The ode says: p u s u t s 'an h i, how is it that gentlemen eat food without labouring the soil ». Cf. Tso: Ting 12, phr. 28: •It is better to lack courage than to be (emptily =) uselessly fierce ». S u 26 'white' often has the meaning of 'plain, poor, without substance'. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan): s u 26 = 29, in the sense of 30 'simple, frugal', thus: •He does not eat simple (frugal) food ». S u 'white' in the sense of 'unadorned, simple, frugal' is very common, e. g. Li: Li k'i 31: •There are cases where simplicity is regarded as the most distinguished ». — The context (a reproach against idleness) confirms A.

280. Ho shue i t s'ing t s'ie lun y i 32.

The comm. are agreed that lun 34 means 'small waves, ripples' (Erya, Mao, Shuowen), thus: \*The water of the Ho is clear and rippled\*, but there are different etym.:

A. Mao: 33 'in small wind the water forms (strokes =) patterns turning round like a wheel', i. e. 'rippling circles' (Legge). Mao thus explains lun 34 \*liwon by the homophonous 35 \*liwon 'wheel'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) 36 'wind following the stream is called lun; lun is = patterned'. Ma Juei-ch'en interprets this to the effect that lun 34 is equal to 37 \*liwon 'class, series, in a sequence, orderly'. Lun 34 would thus mean 'regularly patterned, corrugated'. The char 34 is otherwise only know in the sense of 'to sink' (common). — For B speaks the par. with lien 38 in gl. 278 above.

### Ode CXIII: Shi shu.

## 281. Shīshu shīshu 39.

A. Mao: shī 40 = 'great', thus: \*Great rat, great rat\*. — B. Another school (ap. Yiwen lei tsü quoting Fan Kuang) identifies the shī shu with the 41 shī shu (Erya = 'a kind of rodent' of uncertain kind) which occurs in Yi: Kua 35; 40 and 41 are both \*diak / siak / shī. Thus: \*You shī-rat\*. — Since the existence of a species of rodent called \*diak / siak / siak / shī is testified to by an early text (Yi), it would be curious indeed if 39 were not simply a loan char. for 41.

282. San sue i kuan ju 42.

A. Mao (after Erya) k u a n 43 = 44 'to serve', thus: For three years I have served you. Cf. Chouli: Chī fang shī 45: \*He makes them (the provinces) have the same services and advantages, to which Cheng: 43 = 44. Kuan 43 is then cognate to 46 which means 'servant, officer', but which also occurs as a verb, e. g. Li: Yüe ki 47: \*When rites and music are manifest and complete, then Heaven and Earth are

上镇旃哉》上謂在軍事任部列時以尚慎旃(哉)的上以尚加上渥焉,尚渥焉的猶來無止 劝猫,可如飲人之子不猶 2 不我可也 3 之子 4 之子之遠俾我獨 5 5 不若 6 猶來 7 可來 8 河水清且漣猗,漣 10 風行水成文 11 淪 12 泣流速速 12 流 2 4 淚下兒 泣血速如 4 連然流涕 17 連 12 河水消且瀾(瀾)稅(稅) 10 将 20 椅 20 芍 22 瀾 20 大波 24 觀其 瀾 25 不養 5 20 素 20 至 20 與其素厲率為無勇 20 質 4 2 有以素為贵者 22 河水清且淪猗 35 輪 36 順流而風曰淪。淪文兒亦倫 12 連 10 頑 10 鼠 40 三歲買 4 3 頁 4 事 40 使同贯 4 4 官 47 禮樂明備天地 医炎 4 官 猫事也

served, to which Cheng: 48 'k u a n is equal to shī to serve; each gets its service'. 46 is \*kwûn / kuûn / k u a n in even tone; 43 here is read \*kwûn / kuûn / k u a n in falling tone by Lu Tê-ming, in even tone by Sü Miso. — B. Chu: k u a n 43 = 49 'to practise, to frequent', thus: \*For three years I have frequented you \* (had to do with you). K u a n in this sense is common. — C. Lu (ap. Han stone classics, in Li shī) reads 50: \*For three years I have served you \*. 51 \*g'wûn / yuûn / h u a n 'servant, to serve' (common) is cognate to 46 \*kwûn. — Undecidable whether the orig. Shī had 43 \*kwûn or 51 \*g'wûn. The meaning: 'to serve' is in any case well substantiated.

263. Shī tsiang k'ü ju 52. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng:  $sh\ \bar{i}\ 5\bar{3}=54$ , thus: \*I am going, and I intend to leave you \*.  $Sh\ \bar{i}=$  'to go' is common, but par. in other odes point to another interpr. (B). Moreover, the rhythm is spoiled by Cheng's interpr.:  $sh\ \bar{i}$  —  $ts\ \bar{i}$  ang k'  $\ddot{u}$  j u. — B. Another interpr.:  $sh\ \bar{i}\ 5\bar{3}=5\bar{5}$ , see gl. 76 above: \*It has gone so far that I intend to leave you \*. — C. Another school (ap. S $\ddot{u}$  Yen's [T'ang] comm. to Kung-yang) reads  $5\bar{6}$ : \*I swear that I shall leave you \*.  $5\bar{3}$  and  $5\bar{7}$  were homophonous: \* $diad\ / \dot{z}i\ddot{u}i\ / sh\ \bar{i}$ . — C gives also a good sense, but the A reading is well attested also for the Lu school (ap. L $\ddot{u}$  and ap. Han stone classics) and for the Han school (ap. Han Sh $\ddot{u}$  wai chuan), so it is certainly best established. Interpr. B is confirmed by par., see gl. 76. 284. Mo wo k'en lao 58. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng = 59, thus: •You are not willing to encourage me• (thank me for my toil); lao 'toil' in the sense of 'to recognize the toil of, to thank for the toil' = 'to encourage'. In acc. with this Shīwen reads lao' (falling tone). Cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 60: »Encourage them, bring them to come»; ode 239, phr. 61: »Encouraged by the spirits», etc. (common). — B. Chu: lao = 'to toil', paraphrasing thus: »You do not consider us to be toiling». — The parallelism with st. 1, phr. 62: »You are not willing to regard me» (take an interest in me), decides for A.

285. Shue i chī yung hao 63. Shīwen reads 64, recording 65 as a variant. Mao only says hao 66 = 67 'to cry out'.

A. Cheng takes chī 68 = 'to go', and takes 64 'to sing, to chant' to be the original graph: "Who goes there to sing and cry out" (to sing lamenting songs) (sc. everybody is happy there). — B. Chu takes 68 to be the personal pronoun as an object, and y u n g 65 to be the original graph: "Who is it chī against whom y u n g hao we shall long cry out" (nobody shall make us unhappy). — As to the y u n g, the divergence is more apparent than real: y u n g 65 'long' and y u n g 64 (to draw out the tone long =) 'to chant' are etym. identical. Y u n g hao, whether wr. 64 or 65, means 'to utter long-drawn lamentations', just as 69 (odes 39, 164, 197, 250) or 70 (Li: Yüe ki) means 'to utter long-drawn sighs'. As to chī 68, A seems much simpler: (Those suburban pleasure-grounds —) "who goes there to y u n g hao make long-drawn lamentations".

## Ode CXIV: Si so.

286. Chīsīk'i kü 70 a.

A. Mao (after Erya):  $ch \ \bar{i} \ 71 = 72$ , 'to make it the first business, to be intent on' thus here: "Let us be intent on thinking of our positions".  $Ch \ \bar{i} \ 71$  means regularly 'duty, task, office' (common), and here it is taken by Mao to be a verb: 'to make it a duty' = 'to be intent on'. This might be admissible in the present ode, but Mao (and Cheng and Chu) apply the same gloss 71 = 72 throughout the Sh\bar{i} in many odes where it is forced and unsatisfactory, cf. D below. — B. Wang Nien-sun (after Erya):  $ch \ \bar{i} \ 71 = 73$  'constantly': "May we constantly think of our positions". Erya's 71 = 73 builds on the same fundamental sense: 'as a regular duty (task, office), professionally'

= 'constantly'. No more applicable than A to many odes, cf. D. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: chī 71 is an adverbial particle, equal to 74 'would that': \*May we think of our positions\*. Cf. Shu: Ts'in shī 75, which in Li: Ta hüe (kin-wen version) is quoted as 76. \*May the people have profit\*. — D. Another interpr.: An examination of the parbelow shows clearly that chī 71 is really an adverb (cf. C.). But 71 \* $\hat{t}_{ijk}$  /  $t_{ijk}$  / chī is then equal to (and probably cognate to) 77 \* $d'_{ijk}$  /  $d'_{ijk}$  / chī 'straight, straightout, simply, only', such as we have it in Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang 78: \*They simply (only) did not (run) a hundred paces\* (yet they also fled). In our ode here: \*May we (simply =) only think of our positions\*. Shu: Ts'in shī 75: \*May the people only have profit\* (in the kin-wen version with 74, another adverb: \*May the people hoffentlich have profit\*). — We must compare the following cases:

Ode 193. Chī king yu jen 79. A. Mao: 71 = 72, thus: »(It is not Heaven which sends down calamities), the intentness on quarrel comes from men». — B. 71 = 77, thus: (»It is not Heaven which sends down calamities), it is simply so that the quarrels come from men».

Ode 198. Chī weiluan kie 80. A. Cheng: 71 = 72, thus: »(They are not strong nor courageous), they are bent on being the steps of disorder». — B. 71 = 77, thus: »(They are not strong nor courageous), they simply are the steps of (instigators of) disorder».

Ode 203. Chī lao pu lai 81. A. Cheng: 71 = 72, thus: »(The sons of the East) are wholly directed towards toil and are not encouraged». — B. 71 = 77, thus: »(The sons of the East) only toil and are not encouraged.

Ode 256. Yi chī wei tsi 82. A. Mao 71 = 72, thus: \*(The folly of the stupid people) is chu principally due to their having a natural fault\* (here the fundamental sense of 71 'to take as one's duty, to be intent on' is totally lost!). — B. 71 = 77, thus: \*(The folly of the stupid people) is simply a natural fault\*.

Ode 257. Min chī weili, chī tao weik'ou 83. A. Cheng: 71 = 72, thus: \*That the people is unsettled (is because) they (sc. the officers!) are intent on stealing and robbing \*. — B. 71 = 77, thus: \*When the people is unsettled, it only steals and robs.

Ode 265. Hu pu tsī t'i, chī huang (k'uang) sī yin 84. A. Cheng: 71 = 72, thus: \*Why do you not (eliminate yourself =) retire, but are intent on now to prolong this. — B. 71 = 77, thus: \*Why do you not retire, but only (moreover) prolong this. (Mao here defines huang 85 as = 86 'this', and Chu takes it = 87, but it is obvious that chī-huang are two combined adverbs).

Tso: Siang 8, phr. 88: "This is simply to quarrel and make a net (trap)".

Tso: Siang 14, phr. 89: "That the words leaked out, was simply (only, solely) because of you".

Particularly the last ex. is quite unambiguous: here chī 71 can neither mean (A)

各得其事力習力三歲宦女力宦力逝將去女力逝升往力逮力著將去女力警力莫我 肯勞力不肯勞來我 《努之來之礼神所勞矣《莫我肯顧司誰之永號《咏心永《號 の呼《之《永嘆獻》为咏歌劝職思其居为職或主力常《尚力黎民亦職有利》黎民 亦尚有利力直及直不百步耳为職競由人 組職為亂階。職勞不來以亦職維疾 即民 之未矣職盜為寇 《胡不自替職兄代斯引 於兄 《 益 》 怳 雅觀 競 作罹 ,言語漏洩則 職女之由 《 言語漏洩則直女之由 》 好樂無荒 《 荒 《 大 》 麵居 允荒 》 惟 茂度土功 72 'to make it one's business, to be intent on', nor (B) 73 'constantly', nor (C) 74 'would that'; it is quite analogous to (D) 77, as if the line read 90. Thus the adverbial meaning of 71 = 'simply, only' is quite firmly established.

287. Haolowuhuang 91.

A. Mao: huang 92 = 93, thus: In our love of pleasure, do not let us (enlarge =) go to excess. Cf. ode 250, phr. 94: "The settlement of Pin became truly great"; Shu: Kao vao mo (Yi Tsi) 95: »I extensively planned the field works»: Tso: Chao 7, phr. 96: »If there are fugitives, there should be a great inspection for them»; ode 270, phr. 97: \*Heaven made the lofty hill, and T'ai wang made it great\* (Mao: 92 = 93; already Kyü: Tsin vü, quoting this ode, says 98: 'h u a n g means: he made it great'; so when Chu says: huang 92 = 99 'he cultivated it', this should be rejected). Here also belongs ode 305, phr. 100: »We spread out over and possess Kuei and Meng, and then we (enlarge =) extend our sway to the great East; Mao here 92 = 1 'to possess', and Han (ap. Shiwen) 92 = 2 'to reach to', both free paraphrases of our huang = 'to enlarge, to extend' (Lu, ap. Kuo P'o comm. to Erya reads 3: Then we [cover =] spread out over the great East»). — B. Cheng: huang 92 = 4 'neglectful and disorderly', thus: »In our love of pleasure, do not let us be disorderly». Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 5: »It is not that I myself neglect this virtue»; Li: Yüe ki 6: "Then Wu wang's mind was disorderly »; Li: T'an kung 7: »Do not be negligent and disorderly », etc. — Huang 92 fundamentally means 'weed-covered' (ode 4), 'incult' (Meng), hence also 'waste, desolate' (ode 257), and further, by extension of meaning, 'disorderly' (B). As loan char, is serves for the homophonous 'great, to enlarge, to extend' etc. (A). In our ode both interpr. A and B are possible, both having good text par. But there is no reason to abandon the earliest tradition (A). — Quite analogous is the case of ode 256, phr. 8: \*Greatly (excessively) plunging into wine \*. 288. Jī yüe k'i t'ao 9.

A. Mao: t'a o 10 (\*t'ôg | t'âu | t'a o) = 11 'to pass on, pass away', thus: \*The days and months are passing away. The char. 10 primarily means 'to please' (Tso), pleased with oneself, insolent' (Kyü); here it is a loan char., and this \*t'ôg is then cognate to 12 \*d'ôg | d'âu | t a o 'to tread, trample, walk, go. We find the same word in ode 156, phr. 13 (Shīwen \*t'ôg | t'âu | t'a o): \*We march to the Eastern mountains, going away and not returning. Here Mao about t'a o t'a o says 14: 'it expresses a long time' — merely a free paraphrase, a comment upon the 'going away'. Another school (ap. Wei Wen ti shī) reads 15 (\*diôg | igu | y u): \*(Going) far away and not returning \*(yet another school reads 16, a loan char. for 10). — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 17, defining 18 (\*d'ôg | d'âu | t'a o even tone) as = 19 'to go away' (a def. due to the par. in st. 1, phr. 20), thus: \*The days and months are going away\*. We met with this 18, read \*d'ôg | d'âu | t a o (oblique tone, etym. id. with 12), in the sense of 'to run' in gl. 220, and here we have another var. of the same word stem. — A and B are in accord as to the meaning; undecidable whether 10 \*t'ôg or 18 \*d'ôg best repr. the orig. Shī. — We should compare:

Ode 224. Shang ti shen tao 21. A. Mao: tao 22 (\*d'ôg | d'âu | tao, oblique tone) = 23 'moving, mobile', thus: •Shang ti is very shifting (changeable) •. This tao 'to move' is an extension of meaning of 22 'to tread, walk, go': not still in one place, but on the move. — B. Cheng: tao 21 is loan char. for 24 (\*d'og | d'âu | tao), thus: \*Oh, Shang ti, it is very sad ». An arbitrary guess. — C. Han (ap. Chung king yin yi) reads 25, defining 18 as = 26 'changing', thus: \*Shang ti is very changeable ». Same meaning as A, here 'moving, on the move, changing'. Cf. Huai: Pen king 27: \*All things are changing ». Han (in the version of Han Shī wai chuan) reads 28, same loan char. as in our ode 114 above. — The A (C) meaning is clearly preferable. The

word stem  $*t'\delta g \sim d'\delta g'$  to tread, go, run, pass away, move on, on the move, changing' is thus well established.

#### Ode CXV: Shan yu ou.

289. Fu yi fu lü 29.

Mao has no gloss on yi, and says 30: »lü means also (the same as) yi'. Later expounders diverge: A. K'ung: yi lü = 'to drag, to trail', thus: »(You have robes but) you do not trail them w (wear them dragging the train). Ma Jung seems already to have been of that opinion, for he says (ap. Shīwen):  $l \ddot{u} 32 = 33$  'to drag'. For y i, cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, Shang 34: \*They drag the weapons after them \*; for lü 32 cf. Kungyang: Chao 25, phr. 35: \*Oxen and horses are (soft =) obedient to those who bind and (drag =) lead them and give them food; here lü is equal to k'ien 33 'to drag, to pull, to lead' (as in Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang 36). — B. Ch'en K'iao-tsung: 1 ü 32 is loan char. for 37 (see C next), and Erya: 37 = 38 'to heap'. In Tso: Hi 24, phr. 39: \*Tsī-tsang loved to wear a cap of kingfisher's feathers \*; t s ü 38 has here the meaning of 'to pile upon oneself, put on', and the Erya gloss would, acc. to Ch'en, have  $l\ddot{u} = t s \ddot{u}$  in that sense. Moreover, Shuowen defines 37 as = 40, possibly referring to this ode, and therefore there ought to exist a binome 40 yil ü with the meaning 'to heap upon oneself, to don'; thus: »(You have robes but) you do not (heap them upon you =) don them ». This is very strained; moreover Erya's gloss may refer to another ode, 223, phr. 41, where Cheng says:  $l\ddot{u} = 42$  'accumulated (i. e. = 38), heaped up = 'reiterated' sc. arrogance (l ü k i a o). So the Erya gloss is nothing to build on in our ode here. — C. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 43, Yüp'ien 37 = 44 'to drag'. Cf. Meng: Kao tsī, hia 45: »(To skip the neighbour's wall and) drag away his virgin daughter. Thus, in spite of the Erya gloss (37 = 38, see B), which, as we saw, probably has another ode in view, both yi 44 and l ü 32 as well as l ü 37 are attested by text par. to have the sense of 'to drag'; hence the A (C) interpr. is reliable.

290. Yüan k'i sī yi 46. Shīwen records the var. 47.

A. Mao: y  $\ddot{u}$  a n 48 = 49 'dead-like', thus: \*Becoming like a dead, you die \*, i. e. \*You wither and die \*. Cf. Huai: Shu chen 50: \*The body withers \*, to which Kao Yu: y  $\ddot{u}$  a n 47 = 51 'to wither and become sick'. Thus 47 'to wither' (rad. 'herb') is the proper char., 48 a loan char. — B. Chu: y  $\ddot{u}$  a n 48 = 52 'sitting and looking on', i. e. 'passive, inert', thus: \*Inertly you die \*. For this curious gloss he builds on Cheng's gloss to ode 129, phr. 53, where (Mao having no gloss) Cheng says: 48 = 52. K'ung has tried desperately but unsuccessfully to make any sense of this definition of

元有亡荒閉內天作高山太王荒之九荒大之也为治如奄有龜蒙遂荒大東,有之至 五遂悔大東《慶亂·非子自荒茲德。則武王之志荒矣。毋迫荒。荒湛于酒,日 月其慆勿慆以遏及陷乃我但東山慆慆不歸《言久及悠悠不解《滔汉日月其陶》 陶凡除如日月其除以上帝甚蹈双蹈立動《悼む上帝甚陶《變如萬物陶化祖上帝 甚慆以弗曳弗婁 如婁亦曳也又婁昭奉《曳兵》大牛馬惟婁委己者也而柔焉《奉 牛切摟服聚以子臧···如聚鷸冠《曳聚《式居婁騎《紋《弗曳弗摟《曳虹樓其處 子《宛其死矣《苑《宛》死兒》形苑の枯病以坐見兒曰宛在水中央永宛然生辟 Cheng's. But evidently this line 53 in ode 129 has to be seen in the light of ode 107, phr. 54 = \*(Pliably =) cedingly, he stands aside to the left\*; y ü a n 48 has a fundamental sense of 'pliant, bending, compliant, accommodating' (Chuang: T'ien hia 55: \*Pliably accommodating to the things\*), and 48 'pliant' is in phr. 54 of kindred meaning to 56 (= 57) 'to turn off, cede, give way'. In the same way, in ode 129, phr. 53, which describes how the speaker in vain follows after a longed-for person: \*I go up the stream following after him, but the way is difficult and long; I go down the stream following after him, but he y ü a n 48 (gives way, turns off =) eludes me into the midst of the stream. So this ode 129 (phr. 53) cannot, with Chu, explain our ode 115 (phr. 46) here. — In the latter, A makes good sense and is well supported.

291. T'o jen shī yü 58:

A. Mao: y ü 59 = 60, thus: Another person will enjoy them. — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 61, in which 62 is simply loan char. for 59. — C. Cheng: y ü 59 is loan char. for t' o u 63, thus: Another person will steal them. — 59 'joy, to enjoy' being common (Lun, Li etc.), there is no reason whatever to abandon the earlier tradition (A, B).

### Ode CXVI: Yang chi shuei.

292. Po shī tso tso 64.

A. Mao: tso tso 65 (\*tsåk / tsåk / tso) = 66 'bright, shining', thus: •The white stones are shining. Cf. Tso: Huan 2, phr. 67: •The millet is not pure • (Tu Yü: tso = 68 'refined, pure'), where Yü p'ien quotes 69, the latter 70 being the proper char. and tso 65 ('to bore') being a loan char. (both in our ode and in Tso). We have 70 in its proper graph and meaning in Ch'u: Kiu chang 71. The fundamental idea of \*tsåk is thus 'pure, rinsed', here therefore washed clean and shining by the high-splashing waves (yang chī shuei). — B. Chu: tso 65 = 72 'lofty': »The white stones are lofty». No text par. — A is supported by a good text par., and confirmed by the par. in next st., phr. 73: »The white stones are white».

293. Su yi chu siu 74.

A. Mao reads thus: •White dress with red embroidery• (sc. as applied to a collar). — B. Lu (ap. Cheng's comm. to Yili) quotes 75, the 76 siao being a kind of silk stuff (ex. in Li: Yü tsao); thus: •White dress with red silk stuff (applied) \*. But since Cheng considers Mao's 77 to be a loan char. for this 76, it is possible that his reading of the ode line 75 is his own arbitrary correction and does not represent an older tradition. — 77 \*siôg | sièu | si u makes a correct rime to the \*kôg and \*'iôg of the stanza, which 76 \*siog | siàu | si ao does not.

294. Po shī lin lin 78.

A. Mao: lin lin 79 = 80 'limpid'. Since stones cannot be limpid, Mao must have conceived the line elliptically: "The white stones are (seen in) limpid (water)". No text par. — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen and ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 81: "The white stones are fretted (worn)". Cf. Lun: Ki shī 82 (quoted 83 in Cheng Chung comm. to Chouli, 1st c. A. D.): "(A hard thing), even if ground, it is not worn thin (fretted)". — B is confirmed by a good text par. (and Cheng Chung 83 shows that 79 can serve as loan char. for this 84), and it is superior by the line's being complete without ellipsis: just as in st. 1 and 2 tso and hao are epithets of the stones ("the stones are shining", "the stones are white"), so here lin 'fretted' refers directly to the subject of the clause: "the stones are fretted". It would seem that A is confirmed by the parallelism of the stanzas: st. 1 tso 65 'shining': st. 2 hao 73 'white': st. 3 lin 79 'limpid', and probably Mao's gloss is due to a speculation in this direction. But the parallelism is of quite another kind: it concerns the action of the high-splashing waves

(y a n g c h  $\bar{i}$  s h u e i): st. 1 the stones are rinsed = washed clean and shining: st. 2 the stones are washed white: st. 3 the stones are washed f r e t t e d.

### Ode CXVII: Triao liao.

295. Tsiao liao chī shī 85.

A. Mao: tsiao liao 86 = 87: •The fruits of the tsiao-liao pepper plant. Mao takes liao 88 to be the second part a binome. So also Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u).

— B. Another school. Lu Ki (3rd c. A. D.) followed by Shīwen and Chu: liao 88 = a particle. — Liao is common in the function of a particle, but here that is grammatically excluded. No reason to abandon A.

296. Fan yen ying sheng 89.

A. Mao reads so. \*It is luxuriant and spreading, and will fill a pint\*. — B. Another school (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 90: \*It is spreading, and will fill a pint\*. — 91 \*b'iwăn-gian\* and 92 \*miwăn-dian\* are not homophonous, though the idea given is roughly the same. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. 297. Shī ta wu p'eng 93.

A. Mao: p'eng 94 = 95 'a similar one, an equal', thus: •Very great and without peer. The fundamental sense of p'eng is 'two or more of one and the same kind', e. g. p'eng 'a set of cowries' (ode 176), p'eng 'a pair of wine vases' (ode 154, phr. 96 'two vases of wine') etc. P'eng 'friend' derives from this: an equal, an associate.

— B. Cheng: p'eng 94 = 97 'friend, partisan', thus: •Very great and (without friends, partisans =) impartial •. — B is very scholastic, A clearly preferable.

### Ode CXVIII: Ch'ou mou.

Kien ts'ī hie hou, see gl. 242.

### Ode CXIX: Ti tu.

298. K'i ye sü sü 98.

A. Mao: s  $\ddot{u}$  s  $\ddot{u}$  99 (\*sio / siwo / s  $\ddot{u}$ ) = 100 'branches and leaves not joining', i. e. 'sparse, far apart'. Thus: \*Its leaves are far apart\*. The char. 99 'to strain wine', must — whatever it means here — be a loan char. If Mao's gloss is correctly handed down, he may have taken 99 \*sio to stand for 1 \*sio / siwo / s  $\ddot{u}$  in the sense of 2 \*sio / siwo / s  $\ddot{u}$  'distant, far apart' (\*sio: \*sio being cognate words). Cf. ode 223, phr. 3: \*Brothers and relatives should not be kept distant\* (treated coldly); Chuang: Shan mu 4: \*They (the beasts) kept aloof on the river and the lake \*. In these cases the meaning s  $\ddot{u}$  1 = 'distant' is not universally accepted (Cheng in 3 taking 5 = 6, and Chuang's 7 being interpr. in many ways by various comm.). Yet the very combinations with

 y ü a n 'distant' and s u 'distant' speak in favour of s ü y ü a n 5 and s ü s u 7 being really binomes (so Chu Tsün-sheng and Kuo K'ing-fan), both members meaning 'distant, far apart'. Even in early place names 1 and 2 are regarded as synon. words (Tso  $8 = \text{L}\ddot{u} 9$ , etc.). So »its leaves are far apart » would not lack support of text par. Yet it is doubtful whether Mao's gloss has been correctly handed down. It is true that Cheng already must have read it as it now stands, for in the par. line in st. 2, phr. 10 (\*its leaves are abundant », Mao = 11), he says: 12 = 13 'sparse and few', a silly gloss, wholly due to this call for parallelism. But in ode 214, phr. 14, Mao says: s ü 99 = 11 'abundant, luxuriant', and in ode 218, same phr. 14, even Cheng says 99 = 11! It would seem, then, that in our ode 119 here, Mao's gloss (100) has been corrupted, a p u 'not' having erroneously crept into the text, and that it should read 15 'branches and leaves joining', i. e. 'dense, luxuriant'; this is all the more probable, since the corresp. line in st. 2 is 10 \*its leaves are luxuriant ». — B. Chu: s ü s ü 99 = 16, thus: \*Its leaves are luxuriant . Chu has seized upon Mao's gloss to ode 214, see above. — For the reasons stated above, B is preferable.

**299.** Tu hing k'iung k'iung *17*.

A. Mao: k'iung k'iung 18 (\*g'iwèng | g'iwāng | k'iung) = 19 having nobody to rely upon', thus: \*Alone I walk and helpless. This corresp. to 20: \*Alone I walk and friendless in st. 1. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 21, same sound. Cf. ode 286, phr. 22: \*Solitary I am in distress in the comm. to Ch'u) reads 21, same sound. Cf. ode 286, phr. 22: \*Solitary I am in distress in the comm. to Han shu) read 25, same sound, and Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 26, same sound; cf. Tso: Ai 16, phr. 27 (in an eulogy, imitating the Shī phrase). Further ode 192, phr. 28: \*Alas for those who are solitary (helpless) and alone in here Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 29, the \*g'iwěng defined as = 30 'alone'. The same word wr. 31 was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). Thus there are five graphs (32) for one and the same word \*g'iwěng | g'iwěng | k'iung 'solitary, helpless'. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode): 18 \*g'iwěng = 33 'the eyes having a scared gaze', thus: \*Alone I walk, with scared gaze . — A is much better substantiated.

## Ode CXX: Kao k'iu.

**300.** St. 1. Tsī wo jen kü kü *34*.

St. 2. Tsī wo jen kiu kiu 35.

This ode is taken by the commentators to be a complaint of subordinates against overbearing and cruel superiors, and this idea colours all their interpretations.

A. Mao: tsī 36 = 37 'to use, employ'; kü kü 38 and kiu kiu 39 both = 40 'bearing ill-will and not being friendly and social'. Erya briefly: kü kü kiu kiu (38, 39) = 41 wu 'hateful'. Thus: "The persons who employ us are ill-willed". Wang Sien-k'ien expounds this by taking 38 to be loan char. for 42 'arrogant' (Li etc., common): "The persons who employ us are arrogant"; and 39 = 'to go to the end, go to the extreme' (= 43, Shuowen); cf. Kyü: Yüe yü 44: "If matters are not pushed to the extreme point (to the end), they cannot be firmly established"; Lie: Yang Chu 45: "He (exhausted =) went to the extreme (fulfilment) of his desires". Here in our ode: "The persons who employ us are (going to the extreme =) extravagant". — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: kü kü 38 is loan char. for 46: "The persons who employ us are sumptuously dressed" (this word occurs in Sün: Tsī tao), kiu kiu = 'extravagant' (as Wang under A). This is certainly inferior to Wang's 38 loan char. for 42, see above. — C. Another interpr.: Waley: tsī 36 = 'from' (common): 34 = "From people like me you hold aloof"; 35 = "To people like me you are unfriendly". 38 = 42 'arrogant' might be forced into meaning 'to hold aloof'; even so tsī 36 = 'from' is here very

strained; but in 35 = \*t o people like me you are unfriendly \*C breaks down entirely, for  $t ext{s } ilde{i} ext{ } 36 ext{ certainly cannot mean 'to'}, and kiu kiu <math>39 = \text{'unfriendly' remains unexplained}.$ 

The whole line hangs on the word  $t s \bar{i} 47$ , for  $k \bar{u} k \bar{u} 38$  and  $k \bar{i} u k \bar{i} u 39$  are well explained under A. Mao's  $t s \bar{i} 47 = 48$  'to use, employ' builds on a few par.:

Ode 237. Min chī ch'u sheng tsī t'u Ts'ü Ts'i 49. A. Mao: 47 = 48: \*When our people first was born, it used soil (in) Ts'ü and Ts'i \*. — B. Chu: 47 = 50 'from' (common): \*When our people first was born, it came from the soil (in) Ts'ü and Ts'i \*. — C. Ts'i (ap. Han shu) reads 51, taking 52 Tu to be a geographical name: \*When our people first was born, it came from Tu, Ts'ü and Ts'i \*. — B is excluded because of a wrong word sequence; C gives a good and simple line, and obviates the very forced A. The 53 of the Mao version is therefore short-form for 52.

Ode 274. Tsī pi ch'eng k'ang yen yu sī fang 54. A. Mao: 47 = 48: \*Using that achieving and tranquillizing (method) they occupied the whole world \*.

B. Chu: 47 = 50: \*From (the time when) those (kings) Ch'eng and K'ang occupied the whole world \*.

The preceding st. having enumerated the three first Chou kings: Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang, B is obviously right.

Shu: Kao yao mo 55. A. The pseudo-K'ung-An-kuo comm.: 47 = 48, thus: »May we use our five ritual institutions». — B. The Sung school: 47 = 50: »May we follow our five ritual institutions». Cf. ode 262, phr. 56: »You follow your Shao ancestor's order».

Shu: Shao kao 57. A. Cheng: 47 = 48: The king came and succeeded Shang ti and (using this =) thereby dominated in the centre of the land. — B. Much more simple is 47 = 'self': The king came and succeeded Shang ti, and himself dominated in the centre of the land.

So Mao's definition 47 = 48 in our present ode (phr. 34) is confirmed by no conclusive par., and his interpr. (see A, the beginning of this gloss): "Those who employ us falls to the ground. —

D. Another interpr. The key to the whole line 34 and this ode generally lies, I believe, in a passage in Li: Piao ki 58: \*A person who is not the proper man, he should not (follow =) as sociate with\*, to which Cheng: 59 = 60 'not personally be intimate with'. This is really an application of the extremely common ts  $\bar{1}$  47 = 50 'to follow'. Now, our ode 120 comes immediately after an ode (119, Ti tu) the theme of which is a complaint by a person left without friends. Our ode here is quite analogous: \*In his lamb's fur and his leopard's cuffs, 34 the person who (followed me =) associated with me, is so arrogant; is there no other person (sc. whom I could have as friend? No:) 61

it is only you whom I have old bonds with \* (in st. 2 correspondingly: 62 \* it is only you whom I love \*). Similarly, in st 2, phr. 35: \*The person who (followed me =) associated with me is so extravagant \*.

#### Ode CXXI: Pao yū.

Tsi yü pao hü, see gl. 365. 31 Wang shī mi ku 63.

A. Mao: ku 64 = 65 'not perfectly worked', i. e. 'defective'; to the same phrase in ode 162, ku 64 = 66, not solid'. Thus: The service to the king is m i not ku defective. (must be perfectly carried out, without fault). Cf. Chouli: Tien fu kung 67: »He distinguishes what is imperfectly worked and what is good», the char. 68 here read  $k_0 / k_0 / k_0 = 64$  (acc. to Cheng Chung, 1st c. A. D.); Hanf.: Nan, yi 69: »The potters of the Eastern Barbarians, their vessels are badly made»; Sün: Yi ping 70: »If the instruments, weapons and armours are inferior and defective (bad)» (71 \*ko/ kuo / ku); Kyü: Ts'i yü 72: »He distinguishes what is kung well worked and ku badly worked (to which Wei Chao: kung = 'solid', ku = 'fragile, unsolid'); Sün: K'üan hüe 73: »If they ask you about what is bad (inferior, of poor quality), do not answer them»; Sün: Wang pa 74: »If the artisans are loyal and reliable and not defective in their work, the commodities will be cleverly worked and convenient»; Sün: T'ien lun 75: A defective ploughing damages the crops, Li: T'an Kung 76: (Tu K'iao carried out the rites without assistants:) it was considered defective, negligent» (77 \*ko / kuo / ku). Fang yen (W. Han coll.) has 64 = 78 'hasty' (careless). — B. Another school. Erya has an entry 68 = 79 'to cease, to rest', and since 68 and 64 are both \*ko / kuo / k u (cf. A above), the Erya entry has been considered to be a gloss to our ode, thus: »The service to the king is unceasing (without rest)». So already Wang Fu (2nd c.) in Ts'ien fu lun: Ai jī. Cf. 80 \*ko / kuo / ku '(postponing, waiting a while, for the time being =) meanwhile', e. g. ode 3, phr. 81: \*I (while waiting =) meanwhile pour a cup from that bronze lei vase». Fang yen (W. Han coll.) says 64 = 82 'meanwhile', which means that the char. 64 was then used in the sense of 80. - Both interpr. are admissible. If 64 \*ko here fundamentally means 'defective', it may be cognate to 83 \* $g'a/\gamma a/h$  ia 'flaw, fault'. If it means 'to rest, to cease', it may be cognate to 84 \*g'å / ya / h i a 'leisure'; so etymology cannot decide. The text par. are much stronger for A, esp. since they refer to defective work, which suits the context admirably (\*the service must not be defective\*). Hence A seems preferable.

**302.** Su su pao hang 85.

A. Mao: hang 86 = 87 'feather (wing)'. This is in analogy with the 88 and 89 of st. 1 and 2. No text par. — B. Chu: hang 86 = 'row': The rows of the wild geese. — B is clearly preferable.

### Ode CXXIII: Yu ti chi tu.

Shī k'en shī wo, see gl. 76.
303. Sheng yü tao chou 90.

A. Mao: chou 91 = 92 'curve', thus: It grows where the road curves. Chou is common in the sense of 'all round, in a circle', cf. Tso: Ch'eng 2, phr. 93: "They pursued him three tours round the Hua-fu-chu hill". — B. Han (ap. Shīwen). The text is differently transmitted, and it is not clear whether Han read 94: "It grows to the right of the road", or simply the Han school glossed 91 by 95; 91 \* ijou / chou cannot (with Ma Juei-ch'en) serve as loan char. for 95 \* giũg, so probably Han read 94, in analogy with the 96: "It grows to the left of the road" in st. 1. — Since there is uncertainty about the Han reading, A should be followed.

## Ode CXXIV: Ko sheng.

**304.** Lien wan yü yü *9*7.

Ode 303. St. 1. Cheng yü pi sī fang 3. St. 4. Chao yü pi sī hai 4.

A. Mao: y  $\ddot{u}$  98 = 5 'to have, possess', thus 3: \*He regulated and possessed those (regions in) the four quarters ; 4: \*He c h a o first possessed those (regions between) the four seas ». Mao seems to think that 98 \* $giw\partial k / iuk / y$   $\ddot{u}$  was loan char. for a \* $giw\partial k$  that was cognate to 5 \* $gi\ddot{u}g / jigu / y$  u. — B. Cheng: y  $\ddot{u}$  98 = 'to draw boundaries', thus: 3: \*He regulated and drew boundaries in those (regions in) the four quarters ; 4: \*He c h a o delimited and drew boundaries in (the regions between) the four seas . Cheng takes 6 \* $d'iog / d'i\ddot{u}u / c$  h a o 'to begin' to be loan char. for 7 \* $d'iog / d'i\ddot{u}u / c$  h a o 'to draw boundaries' (this latter e. g. in Chouli: Tien sī), just as in Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 8: \*He delimited the 12 provinces \* (which Shī ki quotes 9). — B is obviously right. Y  $\ddot{u}$  98 has the fundamental sense of 'boundary', hence also 'boundaried area, state' (Lun etc.). — Ode 303 thus confirms interpr. B in our ode 124 above.

305. Shuei y  $\ddot{u}$  tu tan 10. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: tan 11 = 12 'bright', expounded = 'pure and bright', thus: \*With whom can I associate — alone I purify myself \*. — B. Chu: tan 11 = 'morning', expounded 13: 'to dwell alone until morning'. — The parallelism with st. 1, phr. 14: \*With whom can I associate — alone I dwell \*, and st. 2, phr. 15: \*... alone I rest \* (i. e. during the night) confirms that tan here has its ordinary sense of 'morning': \*With whom can I associate — alone I (have my) morning \*.

身與相親《維子之故《維子之好《王事靡鹽《鹽《不攻繳《不堅固《辨其苦良《苦《東夷之陶者其器苦藏》械用兵革政苦》楷以辨其功楷以問楷者勿告》百工忠信而不惜則器用巧便亦楷耕傷稼以為沾刀沽以粹,息的姑,我姑酌假金量以且的瑕的瑕如賴亦肅肅執行《行的翮明的異如生于道周,周以曲以逐之三周華不注《生于道台《右》生于道至《藏蔓于域《域》等域學域》。居《望《燕蔓于野》。正域彼四方《肇域被四海》有《肇》》。第十年二州,北十年二州》雜與獨國《旦《明》,獨處至旦《雜與獨處《雜與獨息》人之為言以為《人之偽言

#### Ode CXXV: Ts'ai ling.

306. Jen chīwei yen 16. Mao and Cheng have no glosses.

A. Chu takes wei 17 (\*gwia | jwie | wei) in the ordinary sense of 'to make': \*When people make their speeches. — B. Another school (adduced alternatively by Shīwen and K'ung) reads 18: \*People's false speeches. This 19 was \*ngwia | ngjwie | wei, and is supported by a similar phrase in odes 183, 192, phr. 20: \*The people's false speeches, which in Shuowen is quoted 21. The char. 22 and 23 are both (two graphs for one word) \*ngwâ | nguâ | ng o. 19 \*ngwia 'false, to deceive' and 22, 23 \*ngwâ 'false, to deceive' are, of course, cognate (two var. of the same stem). It is uncertain, however, whether this \*ngwâ ~ \*ngwia is akin to 17 \*gwia (\*made\*) = 'concocted, false'), for 22 \*ngwâ occurs also in the sense of 'to change' (Shī) — it may be akin to 24 \*χwa 'to change', thus: changing > instable, unreliable, cheating, false.

**307.** Kou yi wu sin 25.

A. Mao: k o u 26 = 27 'really', thus: \*You really should not believe them\*. Cf. Lun: Li jen 28: \*When really the will is set on kindness, there will be no wickedness\*, to which Ho yen, quoting K'ung An-kuo, 26 = 27; Kyü: Lu yü 29: \*A wise man truly of all his heart plans for the people\*, to which Wei chao 26 = 27. — B. Cheng: k o u 26 = 30 'lightly, carelessly', thus: \*You should not lightly believe them\*. Cf. Li: K'ü li 31: \*He does not lightly (carelessly, recklessly) revile or deride people\*, to which K'ung 26 = 30 (common). — The word sequence in the line decides for A. B would have been preferable if the line had run 32.

#### Ode CXXVI: Kü lin.

**308.** Sījen chīling 33. Ling 34 'to command, order' is read 35 (same meaning) in Han (ap. Shīwen).

A. Mao: sī jen (\* $dzi ilde{j} ilde{g} / zi / ilde{s}$ ī) = 37. Chouli: Tien kuan records four functionaries (all eunuchs) of the interior: 38 — here the nei siao ch'en is distinguished from (and of higher rank than) the sī jen. Chouli is probably of the 3rd c. B. C., Mao is of the 2nd. Neither can be relied on for the details of the early Chou functionaries. Suffice it to say that the sī jen 36 was some kind of eunuch functionary of the interior, an attendant. Thus: \*The sī jen attendant I order\* (sc. to announce me to the lord). — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen) reads 39. Shī jen (\* $di ilde{j} ilde{g} / zi / ilde{s}$ hī) means, in a general way, 'the person in waiting' (common, Tso, Meng etc.). Thus: \*The man in waiting I order\* (to announce me). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

309. Kin chê pu lo, shĩ chê k'i tie 41.

A. Cheng construes the meaning thus: \*If I do not now enjoy (my service here, with this prince), if I 42 go (to another state), I shall become old (before I get emoluments) \*.

— B. Ch'en Huan: shī 42 = 43 'to go, to pass', thus: \*If I do not now enjoy myself, as time passes, I shall be old \*. — B is strongly confirmed by a similar theme in ode 114 and obviously right.

## Ode CXXVII: Sī t'ie.

310. Feng shī ch'en mu 44. 時 is here = 是, as often.

A. Mao: ch'en 45 = 46 'season', thus: They present those male animals of the season. Cf. Shu: Kao yao mo 47: \*According to the 5 seasons' (Li: Li yün 48: \*Distributing the 5 elements over the 4 seasons \*explains this curious '5 seasons' of the Shu); ode 256, phr. 49: \*With far-reaching plans and seasonal (timely) announcements \*; ode 218, phr. 50: \*At the proper season that tall girl comes with her fine virtue and teaches

me» (Lu however, reads 51: \*Truly, that tall girl...\*); ode 257, phr. 52: \*I was born (unseasonably:) at an unhappy time \*. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: ch'en 45 is short-form for 53 (both \*\$\displia \leftilde{n} / \leftilde{i} \displie{n} / \chi \end{v} \displie{n} / \chi \displie{n} / \displie{n} / \chi \displie{n} / \di

A. Cheng: t s a i 60 = 61 'to begin, to start', thus: »(In light carriages with bells at the horses' bits) we start the long-mussled and the short-mussled dogs». Ts a i 60 is here = 62 (Erya 62 = 61). Cf. Shu: Yi hün 63: »He started his work from Yi-t'iao, we started from Po», which in Meng: Wan chang, shang is quoted 64; further Meng: T'eng wen kung, hia 65: »When T'ang began his expedition, he started from Ko». — B. Chu. t s a i 60 = 'to carry on the carriage' (the ordinary meaning of the word), thus: »(Light carriages with bells at the horses' bits) c on v e y the long-muzzled and short-muzzled dogs». — Chu's idea (B) that during a hunt the dogs were carried on the cars is indeed droll — did the warriors run, in their stead, to bite the animals? A is obviously right.

#### Ode CXXVIII: Siao jung.

# **312.** Yin yin wu sü 66.

The char. 67 'pulling-strap, trace' is here read  $*\hat{t}_{i}\tilde{e}n / t\hat{s}_{i}\tilde{e}n / chen by Shīwen. But it is read <math>*d_{i}\tilde{e}n / i\tilde{e}n / y$  in both by Shīwen to Tso: Hi 28 and by Ts'ie yün, so y in is the safest reading. It is etym. id. with  $68 *d_{i}\tilde{e}n / i\tilde{e}n / y$  in 'to pull'.

is the safest reading. It is etym. id. with 68 \*diĕn / jĕn / y i n 'to pull'.

A. Mao: w u 69 (\*ok / wok / w u) = 70 'silver' (so also Shuowen), thus: \*The covered traces and the silver attachments \*. — B. K'ung: w u 67 = 71 'to melt silver and therewith wash' (sc. the attachments), thus: \*The covered traces and silvered attachments \*.

— K'ung's interpr. is taken directly from the Shī ming, whose author (Liu Hi, 2nd c. A. D.) believes that 69 \*ok is etym. same word as 72 \*ok / wok / w u 'to pour, to shed, to wash' (common). For this may be adduced that in st. 2 of our ode the phr. 73: \*By silver one has buckled the inner reins \*, is quoted by Shuowen as 74: \*By

A偏知民之訛言以民之論言以訛以論如化 25 苟亦無信以苟 25 就以苟志於仁矣無 惡 25 知夫苟中心圖民 20 且 37 不苟訾不苟矣 25 亦無苟信 25 寺人之令 36 令 36 令 26 女 人 37 内小臣 38 内小臣,閣人,寺人,內豎 37 侍人之令 40 侍人 40 今者不樂逝者其董 22 逝 42 任 48 奉時辰牡 45 辰 46 時 4 撫于五辰 47 播五行於四時 4 遠猶辰告 37 辰彼碩女令 健來教 57 展彼碩女 22 我生不辰 43 展 58 思其廖牡 55 其都 32 有 57 前 58 年 展 27 节 15 其 展孔有 57 戴狯歐驕 40 截 40 截 40 造 攻自鳴條朕哉自亳 46 朕载自亳 45 湯始征自 葛戴 46 陰劉 釜續 4割 4引 40 釜 30 台金 30 銷白金以沃灌及沃 20 釜以腹軜 40 沃以腹 washed (metal) one has buckled the inner reins»; and that in st. 3, phr. 75: \*The triangular mao lance with silver butt-cap\* is quoted by Shuowen as 76: \*The triangular mao lance with washed (metal) butt-cap\*. It is quite possible that there is no fundamental opposition between A and B, and that Mao by his 70 'silver' (attachments) really meant 'silvered' (attachments) etc. In any case, B seems well established through the etym. identity of 69 and 72.

Kia wo k'i chu, see gl. 364.

313. Tsien sī k'ung k'ün 77.

A. Mao: Tsiensī 78 = 79 thus: \*The four mailed horses are very (troup-like =) harmoniously running \*. — B. Cheng: tsien 80 = 'mailed with thin plates', thus: \*The four thin-mailed horses . . . \*. — C. Han (ap. Shīwen): tsien 80 = 'unmailed', thus: \*The four unmailed horses are very harmoniously running \*. Cf. Kuan: Ts'an huan 81: \*If the weapons are not perfect and sharp, it comes to the same as men without weapons, if the mails are not solid, it comes to the same as tsien-chê men without mails \*. — 80 \* dzian / dz'ian / tsien has a fundamental sense of 'shallow' (so in st. 1 of our ode), cf. gloss 233 above. Tsien sī 78 'a four-team of \*shallow \*horses' means 'a four-team of unmailed horses', with C, as proved by the Kuan par. It is here a question of siao jung 82 small and light hunting cars (with 83 'shallow hacks') and pulled by lightly equipped, unmailed horses. Ma Juei-ch'en rightly concludes that Mao's gloss 79 'four mailed horses' has been corrupted, and probably should read 84 in accordance with C — indead 'four mailed horses' is called 85 (ode 79). The alteration in Mao's text has taken place before Cheng, who endeavours to reconcile the corrupted Mao gloss and the Han interpr.

314. K'iu mao wu tuei 75.

A. Mao: k'iu 86 = 87 'a three-cornered mao lance', thus: "The triangular(-bladed) lance and the silvered butt-cap". — B. K'ung: k'iu 86 = 88 'the edge having three horns'; this seems to build on Shī ming (2nd. c. A. D.) 89 'a mao's head having 3 forks', thus: "The trident lance and the silvered butt-cap". That in Han time there were trident-shaped lances is confirmed by Cheng's gloss to Shu: Ku ming 90: "The k'u e i and the k'ü are the present lances with 3 points". — Since the archæological material of pre-Han lances contains mo specimens with tridents, A is most plausible. Cf. Lu Mou-tê in Kuo hüe ki k'an II, p. 296 (with ill.).

Meng fa yu yüan, see gl. 105.

315. Tsai ts'in tsai hing 91.

A. Mao reads thus: »(While thinking of my lord) I go to sleep and I rise». 92 \*tsog / tsai / tsai is equal and cognate to 93 \*tsok / tsak / tsai. B. Han (ap. an ode by Ts'ao Chī) reads 94. It is uncertain whether 95 tsog / tsai / tsai is here a mere loan char. for the homophonous 92 (just as 92 is used as loan char. for 95 in Lü: Shun min 96), or there is another turn to the sense: »(While thinking of my lord) I again and again go to sleep and again and again I rise», i. e. days and nights pass one after another, and constantly I think of him. — A is confirmed by a long row of par. (odes 54, 58, 162, 167, 176, 183, 196, 204, 220 etc.).

316. Yen ven liang jen 97.

A. Mao: yen yen 98 (\* iam / iam / yen) = 'peaceful, tranquil', thus: \*Tranquil is my good man ». Cf. ode 174, phr. 100: \*Peacefully we drink in the night \* (common meaning). This is merely an extension of meaning of the fundamental sense of 98 \* iam 'satiated, satisfied, contented = tranquil'. Cf. further Sün: Ju kiao, phr. 1: \*All the world was peaceful as if united », to which Yang Liang: yen jan 98 = 2 'docile' (Yang reads iap / iap / iap / ye, wrongly, see Ho Yi-hang). The word in this special shade of meaning is also wr. 3, Erya = 4 'peaceful'. Shuowen quotes ode 174

thus: 5. — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 6. This 7 \* i m / i m / y i n 'mild, peaceful, tranquil' occurs in Tso: Chao 12. In the same way in ode 174 Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 8, the 7 here defined as = 9 'harmoniously pleased (contented)'. — Undecidable whether in these odes \* iam (A) or \* iam (B) best repr. the orig. Shī.

317. Chīchītê yin 10.

A. Mao: chī chī 11 (\*d'it / d'it / chī) = 12 (= 13) 'having wisdom' (after Erya chī chī 11 = 13). \*Wise is his fame \* is somewhat nonsensical and has, I suppose, to be twisted into meaning \*He has a fame for wisdom \*(?). — B. Chu: chī chī 11 = 14 'having good order', thus: \*Orderly is his fame \*, whatever Chu may have meant by that. Chī 11 = 'order, orderly' common. — The doublet chī chī 11 occurs in several odes with strongly divergent definitions:

Ode 249. Tê yin chī chī 15 (same as above, with an inversion). A. Mao and Chu chī chī 11 = 16 'having constant norms', thus:  $\bullet$ Well-regulated is his fame  $\bullet$  (Here Mao same idea as Chu in the preceding). — B. Cheng (after Erya) chī chī 11 = 17, thus:  $\bullet$ His fame is pure  $\bullet$ .

Ode 220. Tso yu chīchīls. A. Mao: chīchīll=19 'chī-chī-wise respectfully', thus: (\*They take their places) to left and right respectfully. Han (ap. comm. to Hou Han shu) similarly 20.— B. Cheng: chīchīll=21 'wise', thus: \*(They take their places) to left and right wisely (sagely). This (after Erya) is the same as Mao to ode 128 above!— C. Chu: chīchī=14, thus: \*(They take their places) to left and right in an orderly manner.

Ode 198. Chī chī ta yu 22. A. Mao: chī chī 11 = 23 'advanced in wisdom', thus: »Very wise are the great plans». — B. Chu: chī chī 11 = 24, thus: »Orderly are the great plans». — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 25. Shuowen gives no interpr., for it says: »26 = 'great', read like chī 26 in the ode phr. 25»; so Hü means that in the ode the word had another (not indicated) meaning than 'great' (otherwise Shuowen would have had: shī yüe »the ode says»). Kuang yün reads 26 \*d'iĕt / d'iĕt / chī, homophonous with 11.

Ode 189. Chī chī sī kan 27. A. Mao: chī chī 11 = 28, thus: \*Flowing along goes that valley-stream \* (29 = 30), see gl. 160; against Chu 29 ='river bank').

— B. Erya: chī chī 11 = 17 probably has this ode in view: \*Pure is that valley stream \*. — C. Chu: chī chī 11 = 14, thus: \*Orderly is that river bank \*. —

In all these cases Chu has tried — with a commendable consistency and radical independence of the anc. glosses — to carry through one idea: that of 'order, orderly', the fundamental sense of c h i 11. Yet it is only in two cases that this suits the context: ode 220, phr. 18: •To left and right, in good order, and ode 198, phr. 22: •Orderly are

動力公子塗鲜水公子沃鲜的传题孔量为传题为四介馬的传》兵不完利與無採者同實甲不堅密與俟者同實以小共立俟收的四不介馬於配介。在內三隅子的別有三角の你子頭有三叉加發瞿蓋今三鋒子,載寢載與內載的則如再寢再與如再允載拜稽首,厭厭良人及厭內安靜加厭厭夜飲,天下厭然猶一之順從多感,安於壓壓不食飲。暗情良人又情,悟情夜飲,和悦之兒勿秩於德音,秩缺沒有知內智以有序亦使音秩扶以有常乃清及左右秩扶內秋然然肅敬的秩終然俱謹敬也必知如秋秋大猷以進知的序が對載大猷以此數以於於斯干的流行的干的別以激以相的

the great plans; it is very strained in 128 (249), phr. 10 (15), and unreasonable in ode 189, phr. 27. We cannot come away from the fact that chī chī must in some cases be loan char, for something else. This, however, does not mean that it may be loan for a whole row of meanings: 'wise: respectful: pure: flowing'. It is quite sufficient with one: the Erya meaning 17 'pure' (the other Erya definition: chī chī = 'wise' may have phr. 22 in view: \*Orderly = well-arranged, judicious, wise are the great plans»). Thus: ode 128 (249), phr. 10 (15): Pure is his fame ; 189, phr. 27: Pure is that valley-stream. 11 \*d'ižt is then closely akin to 31 \*d'iat / d'iät / c h' ê 'pure, clear, limpid' (text ex. in Yi): the alternation  $a \sim e$  in a word stem (here \*d'iat  $\sim d'iet$ ) is common, e. g. 32 \*siang 'to scrutinize' ~ 33 \*sièng 'to scrutinize'; 34 \*liang 'good' ~ 35 \*liĕng 'good'; 36 \*sian 'new, fresh' ~ 37 \*siĕn 'new'; 38 \*dian 'to stretch' ~ 39 \*diĕn 'to stretch'; 40 \* iad 'spoilt food' - 41 \* ied 'spoilt food'; etc. Cf. also 42, which is on the one hand \*diĕt / iĕt / yi 'to out-track' (to knock out of the wheel-track), e. g. Tso: Yin 5, on the other (same char.) \*d'iat / d'iat / c h' ê 'wheel-track', ex. in Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê. In the latter reading it is = 43 \*d'iat, and here we have the same alternation of script phonetic: 44 as in our 45 (\*d'iet 'pure': \*d'iat 'pure').

#### Ode CXXIX: Kien kia.

Tao tsu ts'ie ch'ang, see gl. 89.

Yüan tsai shuei chung yang, see gl. 290.

318. Kien kia ts'ai ts'ai 46.

A. Mao: ts'ai ts'ai 47 = 48' ample, luxuriant', par. with st. 2, phr. 49 (var. 50) 'ample, luxuriant' and st. 1, phr. 51 ('very green' hence freely, with Mao:) = 48' luxuriant'. Thus: The reeds and rushes are luxuriant. — B. Chu: \*ts'ai ts'ai 47 expresses that they are rich and worth gather in g\*, thus: The reads and rushes are cullable. To gather, to cull' is the commonest meaning of ts'ai. — C. Another interpr.: ts'ai 47 = 'colour', thus: The reads and rushes are full of colour\*, par. to st. 1, phr. 51: The reads and rushes are very green\*. Cf. Li: Tsa ki 52: The girdle over the shroud — for a prince and a dignitary it was of 5 colours, for an officer of 2 colours\* (etc., common). The word was alt. wr. 53, cf. Yen: Nei, Kien hia 54: The clothes on the bodies were not of mixed (several) colours\*. — A par.:

Ode 150. Fou yu chī yi, ts'ai ts'ai yi fu 55. A. Mao: ts'ai ts'ai 47 = 56: \*The wings of the ephemera — they are numerous clothes. Similarly Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan): ts'ai ts'ai 47 = 57 (cf. 48): \*... they are ample clothes. — B. Chu: ts'ai ts'ai 47 = 58 'adorned'. This means really that Chu has taken ts'ai 47 in the sense of 'colour' of C. above, thus more literally: \*The wings of the ephemera — they are colourful clothes. — In this ode 150 (phr. 55) the B meaning is obviously right, esp. in the light of the Yen-tsī par. above; hence the interpr. 'colourful' applies also to our ode 129 here.

### Ode CXXX: Chung nan.

**319.** Yen ju wo tan 59.

A. Mao reads thus: \*His face is as (moistened) smeared with vermilion \*. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 60. This 61 \* $t'\hat{a}k/t'\hat{a}k/t'$  o = 'red': . . . \*as if smeared with red \*. — C. Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 62. This 63 \* $\hat{t}_1\hat{a}/t\hat{a}/t$  o h ê = 'red': \*. . . as if smeared with red \*. Undecidable whether \* $t\hat{a}n$ , \* $t'\hat{a}k$  or  $\hat{t}_1\hat{a}$  best repr. the orig. Shī.

320. Yu ki yu t'ang 64.

A. Mao: k i 65 \* $ki ext{-} g ext{/} ki = 66 *ki ext{-} g$  'base'; t' a n g 67 = 68. This gloss builds on Erya 69: p i t' a n g = 'wall'. The steep cliffs are likened to the walls of a hall.

Mao's gloss (if p'ing 70 is not, with Tuan Yü-ts'ai, an erroneous char.) must mean: 'the walled-in road is level as a hall', i. e. goes as a level floor between vertical cliffwalls. Mao takes 65 to be a loan char. for the homophonous 66. This is because he combines it with ode 292, where we have ki 66 and t'ang 67 together, phr. 71: From the gate-house base he goes to the hall  $\star$  (Mao 66 = 72). — B. Chu: k i 65 =73 'corners (angles) of a mountain', t' ang 67 = 74 'the places where a mountain is broad and level'. Thus: There are hill-angles and (hall-like) broad levels . How 65 can have this meaning Chu leaves unexplained (is it because of 75 \*g'iəg | g'ii | k i 'to bend the knee'?). — C. Another school (ap. Shīwen, comm. to Wsüan and Ch'u hüe ki) reads 76. 77 means 'a bare hill'. Thus: There are bare hills and there are (halls =) hall-like mountains. D. Another school (ap. Po t'ie) reads 78: There are willows. there are pear-trees. 79 \*k'ijg / k'ji / k' i 'willow' (common). — D is strongly confirmed by the par. of st. 1, phr. 80: There are t'iao catalpas, there are mei plum trees. Even in Mao's reading 64, the 65 has been taken to be a loan char, for 79, and 67 for 81 in an essay by Liu Tsung-yüan (T'ang time), who says of the country of Chung shan: 82 The k'i and the t'ang, the t'iao and the mei (trees), the Ts'in ode sings their praise. This certainly represents an old school tradition in acc. with D. For such loan char., cf. Kungyang: Huan 2, phr. 83 corresp. to Tso 84; Tso: Ting 5, phr. 85 is 86 in Ch'u.

#### Ode CXXXI: Huang niao.

321. Kiao kiao huang niao 87.

A. Mao: kiao kiao 88 (\*kŏg | kau | kiao) = 89 'small', thus: "Small are the yellow birds". In ode 196, phr. 90 same definition: "Small are the sang-hu birds". No text par. — B. Chu: kiao kiao 88 = 'flying to and fro', taking 88 in its fundamental sense of 'to cross', thus: "Cross-wise (fly) the yellow birds". In later literature the expr. kiao fei 91 'to fly cross-wise, to an fro' is very common (e. g. a poem by Wen T'ing-kün, T'ang time). — C. Another school. Ki K'ang 92 (3rd c. A. D.) in a poem (in Wsüan) has 93, which is clearly a quotation of this ode; the comm. to this quotes our ode in Mao's version (87) but says kiao kiao 88 is the cry of the birds. Thus: "Kŏg-kŏg-crying are the yellow birds". 88 would then be a short-form for 94. Cf. Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 95: "A deeply wailing and a plaintively piping note", 94 read \*kŏg | kau | kiao or \*ŏg | au | yao. — A is entirely unsupported. C is worth considering. But B, which takes the char. unaltered in its most common sense, seems preferable.

**322.** Po fu chī fang 96.

A. Mao: fang 97 = 98 'to compare, comparable to'. This means that Mao read 齿虫良虾食粉鲜奶新现在为引血锅如鳢鱼颗如颗丝颗粒状放出蕉葭采采如采 α盛《萋 凄凄》考著双率带诸侯大夫皆五采士二采邓綵《身服不雜綵·红蜉蝣之翼采采衣服 α聚多环盛户 互革部 双颜如渥丹 血颜如渥沼 α 冱 α 颜如渥赭 α 赭 伯有紀有堂 σ 紀 α 基 σ 堂 α 畢道平如堂 σ 畢堂牆 ν 平 ν 自 基但堂 ユ門塾之基 双 山之原角 24 山之 宽 平處 x 足 x 有 屺 有 堂 n 屺 n 有 杞 有 棠 n 杞 n 有 條 有 梅 n 棠 u 紀 堂 條 梅 秦 風 新 云 記 足 k 化 尺 s 堂 谿 k 棠 谿 n 交 交 菱 鳥 s x 交 或 小 皃 no 交 交 桑 扈 n 交 聚 2 稀 康 12 交 咬 黄 角 n 咬 s 次 者 咬 者 x 百 夫 之 防 n 防 n 比 n 方 no 子 頁 方

97 not in its ordinary way (\*b'iwang | b'iwang | f a n g) but as a loan char. for 99 \*piwang | piwang | f a n g (so Shīwen), cf. Lun: Hien wen 100: "Tsī-kung compared people" (yet one text version here reads 1). If 99 can mean 'to compare', it is because it means properly 'to place side by side'; concretely, we have this in Yili: Hiang shê li, phr. 2: "He does not place the feet side by side". In our ode then, after Mao: "He is (one placed side by side with, comparable to =) equal to one hundred men". — B. Cheng: f a n g 97 = 3 (to withstand =) to be a match for', thus: "He is a match for one hundred men". Cheng thus reads 97 in its ordinary way \*b'iwang 'a dyke, to dyke, to guard against, to withstand'. — B is confirmed by the par. of st. 3, phr. 4, y ü = 'to withstand, be a match for (Mao = 3): "He is a match for one hundred men".

#### Ode CXXXII: Ch'en feng.

**323.** Yü pi pei lin 5.

A. Mao:  $y \ddot{u} = 6 \ (*\dot{y}wat / \dot{y}u) = 7 \ 'accumulated', thus: *Dense (thickly-grow$ ing) is that northern forest. Cf. Tso: Chao 29, phr. 8 'blocked up, stopped'. — B. Lu (ap. Cheng Chung's comm. to Chouli) reads 9. Shïwen says 10 is here read \*iwăn / 'iwn / y ü a n or \* iwət / 'iuət / y ü. Since 10 in its ordinary meanings makes no sense here, it is clearly a loan char. (short-form) for 11, which is read both \* iwan (Ts'ie yun, Shīwen) and \* wat (Shīwen, Kuang yun), meaning 'dense, luxuriant' (e. g. odes 192. 197 etc.). Abbreviated into 12 (same double readings); this again occurs meaning 'dense, luxuriant' in Kyü: Ts'in yü, and meaning 'stopped up, pent up' (sc. feelings) in ode 225 (one version 13, another has the full form 11). Thus our ode line: »Dense is that northern forest. — C. Ts'i (as revealed by a paraphrase in Yi lin) reads 14. Since 15 \*'wən / 'uən / wen 'warm' makes no sense here, it is evidently short-form for 16 'to accumulate', also wr. 17 \* iwən / iuən / y ü n. Thus: Dense is that northern forest. Cf. Tso: Yin 6, phr. 18: "He accumulates and heaps them up"; Tso: Chao 10, phr. 19: »To accumulate gain»; ode 147, phr. 20: »My heart is (blocked and tied =) full of pentup feelings \* (cf. y ü a n - k i e in 13!). — We have here varying aspects of one great word stem with a fundamental meaning of 'dense, stopped full': \*'iwan / 'iwon / y ü a n  $(11, 12, 10) \sim *iwan / iuan / y \ddot{u} n (16, 17) \sim *iwat / iuat / y \ddot{u} (6, 11, 12, 10)$ . That the char. 11 (abbrev. 12, 10) could serve for two phonetically so different aspects of the stem as \* iwān: \* iwāt was precisely because the ancient scribes felt that \* iwān: \* iwan: \* iwst belonged together and were not really three different and independent words but only variations of one word. It is, of course, impossible to tell whether the poet in our ode line here originally read \*'iwan or \*'iwan or \*'iwat. **324.** Si vu liu po *21*.

A. Mao (after Erya): po 22 = '(an animal) similar to a horse, with crooked teeth, which eats tigers and leopards'. This beast occurs in Kuan: Siao wen. Thus: \*In the marshland there are six (!) po beasts \*. — B. Lu Ki (3rd c. A. D.) defines 23 'the po horse' as the name of a tree (a kind of elm?), evidently then a fancy name, such as ch'en feng 24 'morning wind' = 'falcon' (ode 132, etc.). Po here would be short for po-ma, thus: \*In the marshland there are six (six kinds of?) po trees \*. Ts'uei Pao (4th c. A. D.), having the var. 25, says 26 'the six po (beasts)' is the name of a tree, \*with leaves resembling those of the camphor tree \*. Here liu 27 would be part of a binome, thus: \*In the marshland there are liu-po trees \*. — B (preferably in Ts'uei's interpr.) is confirmed by the par. in next st., phr. 28, where it is also a question of a tree.

## Ode CXXXIII: Wu yi.

**325.** Yü tsī t'ung k'iu 29.

A. Mao: k'iu 30 (\* $g'i\hat{o}g/g'i\hat{o}u/k$ 'iu) = 31 'comrade': »I will be your comrade».

Cf. ode 7, phr. 32: \*A good companion for the prince \*. — B. Cheng: k'iu 30 = 33 'adversary': \*I will have the same enemies as you \* (your enemy will be my enemy). — C. Han (ap. Wu yüe ch'un ts'iu) reads 34 (\* $di\delta g / \dot{z}i2u / c$  h'ou) 'enemy'; meaning same as in B. — For k'iu 30 = 'a vis-à-vis', hence both 'comrade' and 'enemy' see gl. 2 above. Since the context speaks of a war expedition, B and C (undecidable which of them best repr. the orig. Shī) certainly give the correct meaning.

326. Yü tsī t'ung tsê 35.

A. Mao:  $t s \hat{e} 36$  (\* $d'\ddot{a}k / d'vk / t s \hat{e}$ ) = 37. This jun- $t s \hat{e} 37$  properly means 'moisture', but by extension of meaning ('enrichening' =) 'benefit, bounty'. Cf. Li: Tsi t'ung 38: \*The sacrifice is the greatest of benefits\*; Li: Tsa ki 39: \*The benefit (enjoyment) of one day\*. Thus: \*I will share with you the benefit\* (sc. of the good clothes). — B. Cheng reads 40, defining 41 (\* $d'\hat{a}k / d'\hat{a}k / t$ 0, Ts'ie yün) as = 42 'an intimate garment nearest to the sweat and dirt (of the body)'. This definition has been expounded as = 'shirt' by later comm. (so already Kuang ya), but Shuowen (a century older than Cheng) says 4I = 43 'trousers'; and though there are no pre-Han text ex. of this char. (oldest text ex. an ode by Pan Ku, 1st c. A. D.), we have every reason to accept this Shuowen definition. The trousers are an 'intimate garment nearest to the sweat and dirt of the body' just as much as the shirt, and Cheng's formulation (suiting trousers as well as shirt) is due to his endeavour to find an etymology:  $41 + d'\hat{a}k$  'moisture-garment' is cognate to the  $36 + d'\tilde{a}k$  'moisture' of Mao's version and gloss: \*I will share my trousers with you \*. — The parallelism of the stanzas (44) proves that it is here a word for a garment. Hence the 36 of Mao's version is simply a loan char. for  $41 + d'\hat{a}k$  'trousers'.

### Ode CXXXV: K'üan yü.

## 328. Hia wu k'ü k'ü 45.

A. Mao: h i a 46 = 'great' (after Erya), common (Li: Yüe ki, Tso: Siang 29 etc., coll. current in W. Han time, Fang yen). Since Mao has only this short gloss, he evidently takes the rest in the ordinary sense of the words, thus: The great house was grand. So also Lu ap. comm. to Ch'u. Cf. Li: T'an kung 47: Like the covering (roof) of a great house. For k'ü k'ü 52 (Lu = 48 'ample'), cf. Sün: K'iang kuo 49: The great assaulting engine. B. Cheng: 50 = 51 'to furnish', k'ü k'ü 52 k' in k'in 53 'diligent, attentive, zealous'. Thus: He greatly furnished (food) very attentively. This builds on Erya 54 = 51, and Cheng takes 50 (\*uk/uk/wu) to be short-form for 54 (\*uk/dk/wo) 'to hold in the hand' = 'to present, to furnish'. Cf. Tso: Wen 8, phr. 55: He died holding in his hand his seal of office. — H i a wu being a well-attested binome, and k'ü k'ü = 'great, ample' being also well supported, A is decidedly preferable.

 328. Hütsie hupuch'eng k'üan yü 55 a.

H u 56.

A. Mao reads thus: \*Hütsie hualas, puch'engk'üan yühe does not follow up the beginning \*. — B. Lu (ap. Kuo's comm. to Erya) reads 57: \*Hütsie alas, hupuch'engk'üan yüwhy does he not follow up the beginning \*. — Since 56 and 58 were homophonous (\*g'o / yuo / hu), and since the phrases hü-tsiehuand hü-tsie both are common in the Shī, it is undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

K'üan yü *59*.

Mao (after Erya): k'üan yü 59 = 60 'the beginning'. This is universally accepted, but the expl. differ: A. Hu Yi-kuei (Yüan dyn.): \*when making a steelyard, you be gin with the k'üan weight; when making a carriage, you be gin with the yü carriage-bottom; hence k'üan-yü means beginning\*. Very scholastic. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en, Ch'en Huan a. o.: k'üan yü 59 is loan for 61. Erya has two entries: a. 62 \*(Sedges and rushes,) their sprouts are k'üan\*;  $\beta$ . 63 \*Yü, we i, huan g mean flowering\*. So divided by Kuo P'o. Ma cuts the Erya text differently, so as to bring yü to the first entry, with a binome k'üan-yü. This is confirmed by Shuowen, which has 64 'sprouts are called k'üan(?) yü'. Now Erya's 61 was, acc. to both Shīwen and Ts'ie yün, \*k'iwăn-diu, whereas the ode's 59 was \*g'iwan-zio. This does not prevent their being fundamentally connected, being two different stem variations of the binome (just as p'u-po etc., see gl. 98). That 59 meant 'sprout', just as well as 61, is proved by Ta Tai: Kao chī 65: \*All plants are sprouting\*. The 'sprouting' then by extension of meaning = 'the beginning' (so also e. g. in Yi Chou shu: Chou yüe kie).

#### Ode CXXXVI: Yüan k'iu.

## **329.** Tsī chī t'ang hi 66.

A. Mao: t'ang 67 (\*t'âng | t'âng | t'ang) = 68 'dissolute, reckless'. Thus: \*How reckless you are \*. Mao explains \*t'âng by 68 \*d'âng, evidently feeling them to be cognate. Cf. Kuan: Ti ho 69 'reckless'. — B. Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 70, cf. A. 68 \*d'âng | d'âng | t ang 'reckless' is common, etym. s. w. a. 71 \*d'âng | d'âng | t ang 'extravagant, reckless' (Sün: Sui shen, etc.). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

## 830. Yüan k'iu chī shang hi 72.

A. Mao: 'the four sides high, the centre low is called a y ü a n-hill'. So also Sun Yen (3rd. c. A. D.) in his comm. to Erya (ap. Shīwen to Erya). 73 is then read 'iwān / 'iwnn / y ü a n. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks it is cognate to 74 \*'wân / 'uân / w a n 'a bowl', thus: "a bowl-shaped hill". — B. Kuo P'o (comm. to Erya) 73 = 'a hill high in the centre' — just the opposite to A above. Kuo reads 73 \*'iwən / 'iuən / y ü n, thus taking it to be id. w. 75 \*'iwən / 'iuən / y ü n 'heaped up, piled up': "a piledup hill" (one top rising above the other). For 73 ~ 75 as interchangeable char. see gl. 323 above. — C. Most recent scholars (Ma Juei-ch'en, Ch'en Huan etc.) insist that Yüan k'iu was the name of a hill in Ch'en. In the Han school this place name occurs in the reading 76 \*'iwən / 'iuən / y ü n, in Han Shī wai chuan 77: "The rich men of Ch'en poculated on the Yün-k'iu". The Shuei king chu has this place name with the var. 78. Again, for 79 as closely connected with 73 and 75 see gl. 323. — C is certainly right (thus: \*On the top of the Yüan (Yün) k'iu\*), which, however, does not make an etymology of the place name unnecessary. The variants adduced under C speak in favour of B.

331. Chī k'i lu yū 80.

A. Mao: chī 81 (\*d'igg / d'i / chi, falling tone) = 82 ch' i (\*d'igg / d'i / ch' i, even tone) 'to grasp, to hold', thus: \*You are holding your egret's feather\*. The char. 81 means 'to meet' (e. g. Chuang: Chī pei yu), and Mao means that our 81 \*d'igg, falling tone (so Shīwen to our ode here) is cognate to 82 \*d'igg, even tone. — B. Another school. Yen Shī-ku († 645 A. D.) in his comm. to Han shu says 81 = 83 'to put up, raise, keep upright', thus: \*You keep upright your egret's feather\*. This means that he takes 81 to be loan char. for 84 \*d'igg / d'i / ch i, falling tone, 'to plant, to place upright', cf. Huai: Jen kien 85: \*Set up the ears\* (and listen). So also Chu (81 = 84). Yülan, quoting our ode, has corrected the text accordingly, 86. — B is superior because it takes 81 to serve as loan char. for a word 84 which on the one hand is homophonous (also in tone), on the other has the same script phonetic.

### Ode CXXXVII: Tung men chi fen.

332. Ku tan yü ch'a nan fang chī Yüan 87.

A. Mao: ku 88 = 'good' (common), y ü a n 89 = 90 'the family name of a ta-fu house'. Cheng fills this out thus: t an 91 = 92 'morning', y  $\ddot{u}$  93 = 94 (particle), ch' a 95 = 96 'to choose'. Thus: A good morning they make their choice — the (Lady) Yuan of the South side, (sc. as leader of the dance). Yuan 89 as a dignitary family name in Ch'en is well attested (Ch'un ts'iu: Chuang 27, with Tso, Kungyang and Kuliang). For ch'a 95, cf. ode 180, phr. 97: »We have chosen our horses », to which Mao 95 = 96; Mo: Fei kung, chung 98: \*He selected his (\*claw and tooth-warriors \* =) sharpest warriors. Ch'a 'to diverge, differ > to make a difference between, to distinguish  $\rangle$  to choose is a natural extension of meaning. — B. Chu: y ü an 89 = 'a plain' (common). He refers ch' a to the preceding ku tan: »A good morning having been chosen, they come together in the plain in the South». Chu has to add a word 'come together' which is not in the text. — C. Another school. Shiwen mentions that for tan 91 Wang Su read 99 (\*ts'ia, particle) and Sü Miao read 99 (\*tsio, particle); further, that Han read tsie 100 inst. of ch'a 95. We thus obtain a line 1. The phr. 2 has then to be read h \u00fc t s i e (3), as in odes 11, 58, 135 etc. But in this ode Ma Juei-ch'en (followed a. o. by Ch'en K'iao-tsung and Wang Sien-k'ien) attributes to it a special sense. Chouli: Nü wu describes the ritual prayer for rain executed by nü-wu sorceresses, the yü 4, and when this yü rite reverts in Li: Yüe ling, Cheng Hüan comments it thus 5: \*The sacrifice with hü tsie lamentation praying for rain. Such rites were always combined with magical dancing, and since our ode here describes dancing, our h ü t sie should refer to this rite. Thus: \*Good. indeed, at h ü tsie (ritual) lamentation (dancing) is the (Lady) Yüan of the South

 side». This is very ingenious, but when st. 3 has 6, Ma and followers have to force 7 into something similar to h ü tsie 2, which is hopeless. — Both B and C have serious disadvantages, whereas A is clear and convincing.

333. Yüe yi tsung mai 8.

A. Mao:  $t \le u \le g = 10$ . This enigmatic gloss is expounded by Wang Su (ap. K'ung): 9 (\*tsung) is by Mao taken to be loan char. for 11 (\*tsung), and means  $\overline{12}$ 'the threads of the hemp to be spun', thus: »Then, with their hemp bundles, they go». Cf. ode 18, phr. 13: »White silk, five tsung bundles» (see gl. 50), to which Mao 11 = 10 ('a number, a bundle'). In st. 1 of our ode here there was phr. 14: They do not spin their hemp, and here, Wang thinks, is the sequel: »With their (hemp thread) bundles in their hands (not sitting down to work at them) they go. A funny idea that the girls go to the ritual dance with their neglected working material in their hands! — B. Cheng: 9 is loan char. for 11 in the sense of 15, thus: "Then, (united =) all in a group they go \*. 11 = 'to bind together, unite' is common. — C. Another school (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 16. This 17 \*tsung / tsung / tsung is defined in Yü p'ien and Ts'ie yün as = 10, but this must be due to the influence of the Mao comm. In Tsiyün 17 is defined as = 18 'to come to, arrive', which tallies better with the char. The 9 \*tsung as loan for 17 \*tsung we find already in Erya (9 = 18), in W. Han colloquial (Fang yen 9 = 18) and in an ode by Sī-ma Siang-ju (2nd c. B. C.) ap. Shī ki. Hence ts ung m a i, whether wr. correctly 16 or with 9 as loan char. for 17 (phr. 8, Mao text version), is a synonym binome, and our ode line means: Then they tsung mai come forward and go. — C is clearly best substantiated. — Another important case of tsung:

Ode 302. Tsung kia wu yen 19. A. Mao: tsung 9 = tsung 11 'to unite', kia 20 = 21 'great', thus: All together and grandly they are silent. 20 = 'great' is common. Tso: Chao 20 quotes 22, where 23 is simply loan char. for 20.—

B. Cheng: kia 20 = 18 'to arrive': All together they come, in silence. 20 = 'to arrive, to come' is common.— C. Another interpr.: tsungkia 24 is a synonym binome: They come forward and arrive silently.— D. Ts'i (ap. Li: Chung yung) reads 25. Chu thinks this is the preferable reading, for the meaning of which see below. We must compare:

Ode 301.  $\dot{\mathbf{T}}$  ang sun tsou kia 27. A. Mao: kia  $2\theta=21$  'great': "The descendant of T'ang plays the great (music)». — B. Cheng: k i a 20 = 28 'to ascend' (sc. in the hall): \*The descendant of T'ang plays and (arrives =) ascends \*. — C. Another interpr.: tsou 26 = 'to hasten forward', kia 20 = 'to arrive', thus: •The descendant of Tang hastens forward and arrives. Cf. ode 237, phr. 29: »I would say there were some who hastened forward» (here Ts'i reads 30, Lu reads 31); Hanf.: Pa shuo 32: »In one day to run hundred li» (which may be compared to Sün: Yi ping 33). Ts ou 26 has the fundamental sense of 34 'to advance', mostly transitive: 'to bring forward, to present' (common), but here in ode 237 (phr. 29) and in Hanfei (phr. 32) = 'to bring oneself forward, s'élancer' = 'to hasten forward'. — In ode 301, phr. 27, it would seem natural to take  $t ext{ s o u } 26 = \text{'to play music'}$  (with A and B), since in the preceding line we have: "They play the drum grandly". On the other hand, in ode 302, phr. 19 - 25, there is no question of 'playing music' in the whole ode, but much talk of 'coming forward, arriving'. Since both 9 \*tsung = 18 'to arrive' and 26 \*tsug = 'to bring oneself forward, s'élancer, to hasten forward' are well attested, it seems obvious that here in ode 302 tsung kia 24 - tsou kia 25 are synonymous with the lai kia of the next stanza. And then this overrules the »music» parallelism in ode 301 as well. \*tsung 9 - 17 'to come forward, arrive' and \*tsug 26 'to advance, bring oneself forward, hasten forward' may be cognate words.

**334.** Shīve p'o so *35*.

A. Mao reads thus: \*She dances in the market \*. His binome was \* $b'w\hat{a}$ - $s\hat{a}$ . — B. Shuowen reads 36, same meaning. This 37 is read \* $b'w\hat{a}n / b'u\hat{a}n / p$  an in Ts'ie yün, and in Kuang yün also (alt.) \* $b'w\hat{a}r / b'u\hat{a} / p$  o. — \* $b'w\hat{a}$ - $s\hat{a} \sim *b'w\hat{a}r$ - $s\hat{a} \sim b'w\hat{a}n$ - $s\hat{a}$  are three variations of the binome 'to dance', cf. p'u-po gl. 98.

## Ode CXXXVIII: Heng men.

335. K'o vi si ch'ī 38.

A. Cheng:  $\sin \cdot c$  h' i (\*siər-d'iər) = 39 'to relax and rest', thus: \*I can be at rest. Variants 40 (essay by Ts'ai Yung) and 41 (Han inscr. in Li shī). The char.  $42 * \sin r / \sin i / \sin i$  means 'to roost' and 43 \* d'iər / d'i / c h' i 'to tarry', both common words. — B. Another school (ap. a Han inscr. in Li shī) reads 44 k' o yi t' i yi (\*d'iər - diər). Shuowen 45 (s. a. 46) \*d'iər / d'iei / t' i = 47 'to tarry', and Shuowen 48 \* diər / i / yi = 49 'to walk smoothly and easily'. But of neither are there any early text ex. — A is much better substantiated.

**336.** Pi chī yang yang 50.

A. Mao: pi 51 (\*piĕd | pji | pi) = 52 'spring water', yang yang 53 = 54 'wide and great', thus: \*The spring water (flows out) wide and great\*. In ode 39, phr. 55: \*Bubbling up is that spring water \*, the 56 \*piĕd | pji | pi (Mao = 57 'spring water just coming out, pi - wise flowing'), with the variant 58 (\*piĕd | pji | pi, Han ap. Shīwen) is evidently id. with our word here. — B. Lu. Ts'ai Yung, in one stone inscr., says 59: \*I rest at the Pi hill\*, in another 60: \*Wide and great is the Pi hill, I go there to stroll and amuse myself\*, both obvious allusions to our ode here. Thus the Lu school took Pi to be the name of a hill (hardly = \*the hill of the bubbling spring\*, for the same hill name occurs as 61 in Kuang ya, there expl. as = 'tree-clad hill'; Pi is thus a place name of uncertain etym.). Thus in our ode: \*Wide and great is that Pi (hill)\*. — The par. in ode 39 supports A.

337. K'o vi lo ki 62.

A. Mao paraphrases 63: \*I can enjoy the right principles and forget my hunger \*. Mao takes 64 \* glak / lak / lo in its ordinary sense, thus (with Legge): \*I can joy (amid my) hunger \*. — B. Another school (ap. Shīwen) reads 65, and Cheng in his paraphrase follows this school. This 66 is read \* gliog / liäu / li a o (Shīwen, Kuang yün, the latter alt. \* glak / lak / lo), and Shuowen says 66 = 'to cure'. Thus: \*I can cure my hunger \*. No early text par. — C. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) and Han (ap. Han Shīwai chuan) read 67: \*I can cure my hunger \*. 68 \* liog / liäu / li a o = 'to cure' is common. — Since A demands an elliptic construction, it is inferior to B and C. Hence 64 of the A text version is but a short-form of 66. Undecidable whether this \* gliog or 68 \* liog best repr. the orig. Shī.

哇求雨之祭。數旦于逝,于逝。越以融邁,融加數加經及績麻之縷而素綠五經 《不續其麻亦合《越以後邁加後加至《酸假無言如假》大双酸蝦如蝦以酸假如 奏假無言以奏以湯眾奏假如升29于日育奔奏如輳如走取日中奏日里33日中而趨 百里以進五前也婆娑如布也媻娑如媻如可以棲遲为游息如栖遲似西遲或棲栖西 如遲4可以循係分得分得分久以傷切行平易勿以之洋洋如以以泉水53洋55度大 分裝彼泉水50岁以東水始出學然流51被57樓遲以邱62洋洋以如于以逍遙67枚邱 在可以樂飢 63可以樂道忘飢分樂65可以疾飢60樂67可以療飢60棟60使美权經20

#### Ode CXXXIX: Tung men chi ch'i.

**338.** Pi mei shu Ki 69.

A. The Mao version as seen by Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) reads so: That beautiful Third 71 \* $di6k / \dot{z}iuk / shu$ ) 'pure, good, virtuous': \*That beautiful and good lady \*. The current editions have altered the text accordingly: 72. — A is supported by par. like ode 83, phr. 73: That beautiful First Lady Kiang, etc., and is therefore preferable. 839. St. 1. K'o yü wu ko 74.
St. 2. K'o yü wu yü 75.
St. 3. K'o yü wu yen 76.

A. Mao: wu 77 (\*ngo / nguo / wu) = 78 'to meet', Cheng = 79 'vis-à-vis, opposite, to face'. Thus: \*(That beautiful Third Lady Ki), I can (meetingly, vis-a-vis =) face to face sing to her (st. 2 chat, st. 3 talk). There is a word stem \*ngo / nguo / w u = 'to go to meet, to go against, to oppose, opposite, vis-à-vis, to face' which is well attested, wr. varyingly 80. Mao and Cheng take 77 to be loan char. for this \*ngo. Cf. Sün: Fu kuo 81: \*Go to meet his army (Yang Liang 82 = 78 'to meet'); Kuan: Kün ch'en 83: »Opposing actions»; Chuang: Ta sheng 84: »He encounters things without being scared (variants 85, all \*ngo / nguo / w u acc. to Shīwen and Kuang yün); Ts'ê: Yen ts'ê 86: \*People dared not look at him face to face \* (stand up against him; one text version has 87); Mo: King, hia hia lie 88: \*Face to face (comm. 89 = 90'vis-à-vis, face to face'); Lü ming 91: \*Great opponents\*; Shī ki: T'ien Kuan 92: \*To meet »; Yili: Ki si li 93: »If there is no receptacle (for the gift), he receives it face to face (Cheng: w = 94). To the same word stem belong 95 \*ngå / nga / y a 'to meet' and probably 96 \*ngu / ngqu / o u 'a vis-à-vis, match' and 97 \*ngqu / ngqu / y u 'to meet'. — **B.** Chu: w u 98 = 99 'to explain', also 'to explain to oneself, to understand', thus: »(That beautiful lady), I can to her explainingly sing (st. 2. chat, st. 3. talk)». The char. 98 \*ngo is variant of 100 \*ngo / nguo / w u 'to awake, awaken' (ode 26, phr. 1: When awaking, I beat my breast, Shuowen quotes 2; and Lu, ap. Lie nü chuan, even quotes our ode here as 3). The word 4 \*ngo / nguo / w u 'to awake, to realize, to understand' (common) is etym. the same word as 100 and hence as 98. Chu means that the ode line is equal to 5: »I can sing to her (awakeningly =) so as to make her understand (sc. my feelings). — B. has the advantage of taking 98 in its proper sense (as appearing in Shuowen's version of ode 26), whereas A has to take it as a loan char. for the word \*ngo 80. But A 'face to face' is much more simple and natural, and well supported by text par., hence preferable. (That in ode 56 we have phr. 6 and 7 and 8 proves nothing, for there the context is quite different and the phrases have another purport).

#### Ode CXL: Tung men chi yang.

340. K'i ye tsang tsang 8.

A. Mao: t sang t sang 9 (\*tsang / tsang) = 10 'ample, luxuriant', thus: \*Its leaves are luxuriant \*. — B. Ts'i (ap. Yi lin) reads 11. This 12 \*tsiang / tsiang / t s i a n g is common in the sense of 'great' (see gl. 15), hence here 'ample', as A. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

## Ode CXLI: Mu men.

**341.** Shuei si jan yi *13*.

A. Mao says simply: si 14 = 15 'for a long time', thus taking shuei 16 in its ordinary sense: Who has been like that for a long time (an oratorical question). — B. Cheng (after Erya): shuei si 17 = si 14, shuei si being a binome equal to si alone: \*For a long time he has been like that \*. Chu has expounded this further: shue is i = 18 ch'ou si, which means 'yesterday' (Li: T'an kung). In other words: since the char. 19 (\* $d'i\delta g$  'ploughed field', can serve as loan char. both for a word ch'ou (\* $d'i\delta g$ ) 'who' and for a word ch'ou (\* $d'i\delta g$ ) 'yesterday, previously', our shue i 16 which means 'who', should also have a meaning' yesterday, previously' — a most amusing logical somersault. — B has no text support, A is clearly preferable.

342. Ko yisin chī 20.

A. Mao: sin (\*sièn / sièn / si n) 21 = 22, thus: »By my song I admonish him». Sin 21 in this sense e. g. in Kyü: Wu yü. — B. Another school (ap. Ts'ie yün) reads 23: •By my song I reprimand and stop him». Cf. Ch'u: Li sao 24: »In the morning to make reprimands». — 25 \*siwəd / swi / su e i is demanded by the rime (r. w. 26 \*dz'iwəd / dz'wi / t su e i), which confirms B. Similarly in ode 194, phr. 27 (Mao), the rime demands 28.

#### Ode CXLII: Fang yu ts'üe ch'ao.

343. Fang yu ts'üe ch'ao, k'iung yu chī t'iao 29.

A. Mao: fang 30 = 'a town', k'iung 31 = 'a hill', thus: \*In Fang there are magpies' nests, on K'iung there are sweat peas\*. Several Fang and K'iung are known as place names in pre-Han texts, but none in the Ch'en country. — B. Chu: fang 30 = 'dyke', k'iung 31 = 'hill', thus: \*On the dyke there are magpries' nests, on the hill there are sweet peas\*. — The par. with st. 3, phr. 32: \*In the middle path (of the temple) there are tiles \*speaks against fang and k'iung being place names. 344. Shueichou yümei 33.

A. Mao reads thus: \*Who has cheated my beautiful one \*. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 34, defining 35 as = 36 'beautiful', meaning of the line s. a. in A. — 36 \*mior / mji / m e i and 35 \*miwor / mjwei / w e i are cognate words, cf. gloss 106. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

**345.** Sin yen t'ī t'i 37.

A. Mao: t'i t'i 38 (\*t'iek | t'iek | t'i) is equal to the 39 of st. 1, thus: In my heart I am grieved. The word 39 is common in the sense of 'to fear, anxious, disturbed' (Shu, Lü etc.), and the doublet t'i t'i 'anxious, disturbed' occurs in Kyü: Ch'u y ü. This stands very near to Mao's interpr. It is etym. id. w. 40 \*t'iek | t'iek | t'i 'troubled, grieved' (Ch'u). — B. Lu (ap. Erya): t'i t'i 38 = 41 'to love', and Han (ap. Kuo P'o's comm. to Erya) = 42 'to like somebody', thus: In my heart I love you. No text par. — A is better substantiated.

#### Ode CXLIII: Yüe ch'u.

Kiao jen liao hi, shu yao kiao hi, see gl. 1 and 26.

**346.** Shu yu shou hi 43. Neither Mao nor Cheng nor K'ung have any gl. to the binome yu-shou.

A. Shïwen: y u 44 (\* iôg / i沒u / y u, rising tone) = 45 'leisurely, tranquil'; Yü p'ien: yu shou 46 = 47, same meaning. Thus: How shu easy and yu shou tranquil, par. to st. 1, phr. 48: "How shu easy and yao kiao beautiful", see gl. 1 above. When yu 44 is used in the sense of 'grieved' (Ch'u: Kiu chang), it is a loan char. for 49 'grief'. But here, with the A interpr., 44 is closely cognate to 50 \* iôg / iqu/y u 'tranquil' (they are not identical, for 50 has even tone and our 44 rising tone), e. g. in ode 304, phr. 51: \*He spread his government tranquilly \* (leisurely, slowly, indulgently, gently, not harshly). And just as in our ode the T'ang stone classics have the variant 52 (without rad. 'heart' in yu), so in ode 304 another school (ap. Shuowen) for Mao's 51 reads 53 (without rad. 'heart'; here 49 cannot mean 'grief' but is clearly = 'tranquil'). Thus 44 here (var. 49) quite like the cognate 50 (var. 49) in ode 304, means 'tranquil'. Cf. further Ts'ê: Chao ts'ê 54: »They were indulgent to and loved the infant»; Huai: Shī tsê 55: »Tranquil and easy». Again, shou 56 'receiving' obviously means 'accommodating, compliant', and the binome yu shou 46 (57) is = 'tranquil and compliant', which tallies with our A definition in Shiwen and Yü p'ien. In short A is confirmed by ode 304 (and Ts'ê, Huai) for yu, and by an extension of meaning for shou. — B. Chu: yu shou 46 = 58 'grievedly (thinking of =) longing', thus: »May I be relieved of my grieved longing». For y u this might be supported with the Ch'u ex. mentioned above, but shou 56 = 'to think of, to long for' hangs entirely in the air. — A is obviously better substantiated.

347. Shu yao shao hi 59. Neither Mao nor Cheng nor K'ung have any gl. to the binome yao-shao.

A. Yao 60 is the same as in ode 6, phr. 61: »How delicate (beautiful) is that pear tree» (see gl. 23). For shao 62, I know of no pre-Han par., but in Si king fu by Chang Heng (early 2nd c. A. D.) we have the binome 63 'beautiful' which is the same as our yao shao 59 (64 and 60 both \* iog / iau / yao). Thus: •How shu easy and yao shao beautiful». — B. Chu: yao shao 59 = 65 'tied and pressed together', thus: »May I be relieved of my tied and compressed feelings». No text par., neither for the binome, nor for the constituents. — A is evidently preferable.

**348.** Lao sin ts'an hi 66.

A. Mao reads thus; Shīwen 67 \*ts'am / ts'am / ts' an: »My toiled heart is grieved ». — B. Another school. In ode 205, where Mao has 67, Shīwen says: variant 68 \*ts'og / ts'au / ts' a o. All the best Ts'ing scholars agree that the ts' an 67 in our ode here is a scribe's corruption of the graphically similar and synonymous ('grieved') ts' a o 68, thus: 69, which is demanded by the rime (70). — B is obviously right.

### Ode CXLIV: Chu lin.

**349.** Ch'eng wo sheng kü *71*.

**A.** Mao: Mao reads thus: »I drive my four-team of colts». — **B.** Another version (ap. Shīwen) reads 72: »I drive my four-team of big horses» (\*kiog / kiau / k i a o). When Shīwen says 73: »74 has the sound of 75» (\*kiu / kiu / k ü), this is highly interesting, for it shows that Lu Tê-ming had the oral tradition that the line should run: . . . \*kiu (built on the version with 75), and he abides by this, in spite of his own version's having the char. 74!

#### Ode CXLV: Tsê pi.

350. Yup'uyüho 76.

A. Mao reads thus: \*There are sedges and lotus plants \*. 77 \* $g'\hat{a} / \gamma \hat{a} / h$  o. — B. Lu (ap. Fang Kuang's comm. to Erya, as quoted by K'ung) reads 78: \*There are sedges and lotus stalks \*. 79 \*ka / ka / k i a = 80 (Erya). — C. Cheng reads 77, like Mao, by defines it by 80, as if it were 79, a desperate attempt to reconcile Mao and Lu. — Undecidable whether \* $g'\hat{a}$  or \*ka best. repr. the orig. Shī. The two words were certainly cognate, but by no means identical.

351. Shang ju chī ho 81.

A. Mao reads thus: I am grieved (so as not to know) what to do about it. — B. Lu: Erya has an entry: y a n g 82 = 83 'I, me', under which Kuo P'o quotes our ode: 84, thus: What am I to do about it, and Kuo adds: Now (i. e. in the 3rd c. A. D.) in the Pa and P'u regions people style themselves a - y a n g 86 'I, me'. — B having no early text par., A is safer.

352. Yu p'u yü kien 87.

A. Mao: k i e n 88 (\*kăn | kăn | ki e n) = 89 (\*glân | lân | lan) 'a fragrant plant' (Orchis? Metaplexis?); thus: \*There are sedges and k i e n plants \*. — B. Lu (ap. Hing Ping's comm. to Erya) reads 90, thus: \*There are sedges and lotus fruits \*. Cheng says: Mao's 88 \*ought to be \* 91 (\*liân | liân | liên) 'lotus fruit' (Erya). So Cheng wants to correct Mao after Lu. — The parallelism of the stanzas (st. 1: ho 'lotus' or kia 'lotus stalk'; st. 3: han tan 'lotus flower') decides in favour of B.

Shī ta ts'ie k'üan, see gl. 249.

353. Shī ta ts'ie yen 92.

A. Mao: y e n 93 (\*ngiām | ngivm | y e n) = 94 'dignified' (common, Li etc.), thus: \*Grandly large and dignified\* (majestic, stately). — B. Han (ap. Shuowen and Yülan) reads 95. This char. 96 is defined in Shuowen as = 97 'to bear anger' (then read \*ngəm | ngām | a n, Ts'ie yün), which is not applicable here. The Han school definition (ap. Yülan) is 98 'double-chinned' (then read \*ngiām | ngāvm | y e n or \*iəm | ien | y e n, both Ts'ie yün), thus: \*Grandly large and double-chinned\*. Kuang ya defines it as = 'beautiful', so possibly 'double-chinned' refers to a dimple dividing the chin in a beautiful way? No text par. — A is much better supported by text par.

## Ode CXLVII: Su kuan.

354. Kijen luan luan 99.

A. Mao: k i 100 = 1 'urgent, to urge, to press, to harrass, to distress', thus: \*The (pressed =) distressed person is emaciated. Common in the odes, e. g. ode 167, phr. 2: \*The Hien-yün are very harrassing \*; ode 194, phr. 3: \*(Official tasks are) very pressing and dangerous \*; ode 244, phr. 4: \*He did not urge his wishes \*; ode 256, phr. 5:

>You will bring the people to great distress >, etc. Another nuance of the word is 'urgent' = 'swift', e. g. ode 189, phr. 6: \*Swift like an arrow \*. In all these cases, Mao has 100 = 1. The Chinese comm. all think that 100 \*kizk / kizk / k i is loan char. for 1 \*kiəp / kiəp / ki, which is phonetically inadmissible; it is, instead, loan char, for 7 \*kiok / kiok / k i 'urgent, to hurry', e. g. ode 41, phr. 8: \*It is urgent\*; ode 154, phr. 9: \*Urgently we climb the roof \* (to which Cheng 7 = I). — B. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. to Huai and to Lü); k i 100 = 10 'emaciated', thus: \*The emaciated person is emaciated». Cf. Lü: Jen ti 11: "What is meager (sc. soil) should become fat, and what is fat should become meager. Since Shuowen has a variant 12 for  $13 \ (= 14)$  'emaciated'. Huei Tung thinks 100 (\*kijk) is a corruption of this 12 (\*dz'ižk / dz'ižk / t s i), and that the text should be corrected into 15. This is an unnecessary emendation. 100 k i 'meager' is merely an extension of meaning of 100 = 7 in A above: 'pressed' > 'exhausted, meager'. — C. Another school (ap. Ts'uei Ling-en's comm. to Shī, 6th. c.) reads 16. This 17 \*keq | kăi | k i e (Ts'ie yün and alt. Shiwen) is defined as = 1 'urgent, to press' in Erva (followed by Ts'ie yun), thus synon, with A above. Cf. ode 177, Mao 18: We thereby were pressed (harrassed), where Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun) reads 19 (the correct reading, for the rime is 20 \*t'iək, which excludes Mao's reading 1 \*kiəp); here 21 is obviously a short-form for 17. — B is an unnecessary extension of meaning, A (and C) being well supported by text par. Undecidable whether A (\* $k_i \rightarrow k$ ) or C (\* $k_i \rightarrow k$ ) best repr. the orig. Shī.

Wosin vün kie hi, see gl. 323.

## Ode CXLVIII: Si yu ch'ang ch'u.

## 355. Yao chī wu wu 22.

A Mao: y a o 23 = 24 'young', wu wu 25 = 26 'strong and beautiful', thus: Oh, the strength and beauty of your youthfulness. For y a o, cf. gl. 23. Wu 25 fundamentally means 'moist, to moisten', hence living and strong as opp. to dry and dead. Mao refers the line to a person. — B. Chu: wu wu = 'shining and moist, glossy', thus: OhHow glossy in its youthfulness. (sc. the ch' ang ch' u tree). Cf. ode Oh8, phr. Oh8: Oh9 Its leaves are glossy, ode Oh9; ode Oh9, same meaning; ode Oh9, Oh9. Oh9 Its leaves are glossy, (not hard and dry but soft, Mao Oh9, and Oh9. B retains better the fundamental sense of wu and is strongly corroborated by the Oh1 par. adduced. 356. Lots Oh1 wu ch Oh3. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng (after Erya): chī 33 = 34, thus: \*I am glad that you have no mate\*. Chī 33 'to know' is then = 'to be familiar with, intimate with', as in later times 35 'an intimate friend': I am glad that you have no connaissance. The line thus refers to a person. — B. Chu: \*I rejoice in your unconsciousness\*, referring the line the tree, which knows of no sorrow, like human beings. — A is confirmed by st. 2, phr. 36, and st. 3, phr. 37.

O no k'i chī, see gl. 188.

#### Ode CXLIX: Fei feng.

# **357.** Fei feng fa hi 38.

A. Mao: fe i 39 = 40 (as so often in the Shī), fe i fe n g = 41, thus: »An (incorrect =) abnormal (excessive) wind whirls up». Similarly Han (ap. Han shu: Wang Ki chuan) 42: »That is not the wind of ancient times». Next line has 43, which Mao then in the same way must interpret: »The (irregular =) abnormal chariot rushes», which is too ridiculous. — B. Chu: «It is not that the wind whirls up» (which makes me so depressed). — C. Waley: »No breeze stirs». — D. Wang Nien-sun (after Kuang ya): fe i 59 = p i 44, thus: »That wind whirls up». For Wang's parallels, see below.

— Fei 39, 40 (\*piwər) cannot simply be a phonetic loan char. for pi 44 (\*pia). A meaning 'that' for 39 (interpr. D) is too weakly supported, see below. Interpr. C is grammatically weak: \*No breeze stirs \* would not have had the negative fei (39, 40) but another (45 or 46). A, as stated, is impossible in the next line. B is in accordance with an extremely common use of fei 39, 40: 'it is not that' and hence preferable. Cf. ode 58, phr. 47: \*It was not that you came to buy silk \*; Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang 48: \*It was not that I grudged the expense \*. — We compare:

Ode 195. Ju fei hing mai mou, shī yung pu tê yü tao 49. A. Tu Yü (3rd c.) in comm. to Tso: Siang 8, where this ode is quoted: fei 39 = pi 44: \*Like those wayfarers who are consulting (everybody) and hence make no progress \*. This is supported by the par. in st. 4, phr. 50: \*Like those housebuilders who are consulting (everybody) in the road \*; also by ode 194, phr. 51: \*Like those wayfarers who come nowhere \*. — B. Cheng: fei 39 = 'not', interpreting: \*Like mou (only) consulting fei hing mai without marching — thereby not making any progress \*. — B misses the parallels adduced under A. These suggest that fei 39 in our ode 195 is merely an erroneous char. for 44.

Ode 222. Pi kiao fei shu 52. A. Mao reads thus: \*They associate without being remiss (impolite)\*. — B. Lu (ap. Sün: K'üan hüe) reads 53. Wang Nien-sun thinks that the first fei (35) is loan char. for pi 44, and the second means 'not', hence interpr. as under A. That is very far-fetched. From Sün-tsī's paraphrase it clearly follows that 54 here is short-form for 55 (both \*kog / kau / kiao) = 'rude' (cf. Lun: T'ai-po 56: \*Straightforwardness without decorum is rudeness\*). Thus: \*They are not rude, not remiss\*. Undecidable whether A or B best repr. the orig. Shī.

Ode 215. Pi kiao fei ao 57. A. Mao reads thus: \*They associate without being haugty. — B. Another school (ap. Tso: Siang 27) reads 58. Here, again, Wang Nien-sun thinks the first fei 39 is equal to pi 44 (meaning as in A); but the par. with 53 above shows that the line means: \*They are not rude, not haughty. — C. Ts'i (ap. Han shu: Wu hing chī) reads 59: \*They are not (sanguine =) in too high spirits, not haughty. (60 'sanguine', cf. Chuang: Tao Chī). — Again undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. — Wang Nien-sun proposes fei 39 = pi 44 in several more odes (50, 204, 225, 234), but that is quite arbitrary, and the meaning 'not' is quite satisfactory and conclusive in those odes.

358. Fei kü k'ie hi 61.

For fei = 'it is not that' see gl. 357.

**A.** Mao: k'ie 62 (\*k'iat / k'iat / k'ie, Shīwen) = 63'to drive fast, to rush': »It

is not that the carriage rushes (which makes me depressed). We have 62 read \*kiat | kipt | k i e (Shīwen) and \*g'iat | g'iāt | k i e (Kuang yün) = 'forcible, robust' in Chuang: T'ien tao, but for 62 \*k'iat 'to rush' I know of no text par. — B. Ts'i (as revealed by a paraphrase in Yi lin) and Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) read 64. What 65 'to lift' here stands as loan char. for is not defined. — C. Another school (ap. Po t'ie) reads 66: \*It is not that the carriage goes away. For 67 \*k'iat | k'iät | k'i e = 68 'to go away', cf. Ch'u: Kiu pien 69: \*The carriage is yoked, I go away and return home \*; also in Lü: Shī jung. — C is the only version supported by text par. Since the Shīwen tradition has it that Mao's 62 has to be read \*k'iat, this is very likely but a loan char. for 66 \*k'iat 'to go away'.

**359.** Fei kû p'iao hi 70.

For fei = 'it is not that' see gl. 357 above.

A. Mao: p'iao 71 (\*p'iog | p'iāu | p'iao, Shīwen var. 72) = 73 'disorderly', thus: \*It is not that the carriage moves in a (disorderly =) rushing way. Shuowen (quoting this ode): p'iao 71 = 74 'swift'. The idea is the same: the carriage does not move sedately but rushes wildly along. P'iao 72 means 'light' (as opp. to 'heavy') e. g. in Chouli: Ts'ao jen, hence 'agile, quick', e. g. Han shu: Li yüe chī 75: \*To pass quickly \*. In pre-Han texts wr. by various loan char., e. g. Chouli: Kung jen 76 (\*p'iog): \*As animal, it is quick \* (Cheng = 74); Ibid. 77: \*Therefore it (the bow) is quick \* (in its beating); Sün: Yi ping 78 (\*p'iog): \*Smart and swift \*; Lü: Kuan piao 79 (\*p'iog): \*Even the sage cannot rush \* (comm. = 74). — B. Chu: p'iao 71 = 80 'to shake', thus: \*It is not that the carriage shakes \*. Chu takes 71 to be loan char. for 81 \* p'iog / p'iāu / p'iao, cf. ode 155, phr. 82: \*Tossed about by the wind and rain \*. — A is well supported and represents an older tradition.

Huai chi hao yin, see gl. 110 a.

## Ode CL. Foy yu.

**360.** Yi shang ch'u ch'u *83*.

A. Mao: ch'u ch'u 84 (\*ts'io / ts'iw / ch'u) = 85 'fresh and bright', thus: \*(The wings of the ephemera) are bright clothes\*. No text par. — B. Another interpr.: ch'u ch'u 84 = 86 'ample, rich', thus: \*(The wings of the ephemera) are rich clothes\*. Cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê 87: \*To have audience in full dress\* (to which the comm. ch'u 84 = 86 'ample'); ode 209, phr. 88 (Mao: ch'u ch'u = 'the appearance of the thistles' says nothing but:) Chu: ch'u ch'u 84 = 89: \*Ample (rich) and dense are the thistles\*; ode 220, phr. 90: \*The pien and to u vessels are there in full array\* (Mao: ch'u 84 = 91 'arrayed', but cf. ode 261, phr. 92: \*The pien and to u vessels are there in full number\*, to which Mao:  $93 *tsio / tsiwo / ts \ddot{u} = 94$  'numerous' — the idea in both cases being: in a complete, full series). — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 95, the 96 \*ts'io / tsiwo / ch'u = 97 'of five brilliant colours', thus: \*(The wings of the ephemera) are variegated clothes\*. No text par. Some later scholars have thought that ch'u 84 in A was simply a loan char. for this 96, but there is no reason whatever for such a loan speculation. — B is confirmed by parallels, of which the Ts'ê par (87) is quite decisive.

Ts'ai ts'ai yi fu, see gl. 318. Fou yu kü yüe, see gl. 97.

## Ode CLI: Hou jen.

**361.** Ho kuo yü tuei (tai) 98.

A. Mao: tuei 99 (\* $tw\hat{a}d/tu\hat{a}i/t$ uei, tai) = 100, thus: \*They carry daggeraxes and batons \*. — B. Another school (ap. Cheng's comm. to Li: Yüe ki) reads 1, this 2 (\* $tiwat/\hat{t}iwat/c$ h o and \* $tiwad/\hat{t}iwai/c$ h uei) defined as = 3 'signal (instru-

ment)', thus: "They carry dagger-axes and signal tokens". Cf. Ta Tai: Tseng tsī chī yen 4: "Their actions were a signal token in the whole world". — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

**362.** Pu suei k'i kou 5.

A. Mao: kou 6=7 'favour', Cheng: sue i 8=9 'to continue', thus: They (sc. the band of officers) will not continue to stand in favour. For sue i = 'to continue', see gl. 184 above. For k ou 6 = 'favour', cf. Lü: Pi ki 10 'favourites'. So the meaning of the line was already conceived in Kyü: Tsin yü, where this ode is quoted in a speech. — B. Chu: k o u 6 = 7, as in A above, s u e i 8 = the 11 of the preceding st., phr. 12: They are not equal to (worthy of) their (fine) dress, thus our line 5 here: They are not worthy of their favour. Suei 8 'to follow' would then be = 'to follow up': they do not follow up their favour = are not worthy of it. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: kou 6 (\*ku / kqu / kou) is here loan char. for 13 \*ku / kqu / kou 'leather cuff' worn by an archer to protect the arm when shooting. This word is common in Han texts, but I know of no pre-Han text ex. The same leather cuff is called sue i 8 in Yili: Hiang shê li. Thus our line 5: "They do not cuff their cuffs", i. e. they look martial and they all have shooting cuffs, but they do not put them on and shoot = they are incompetent to shoot. — D. Waley: line 5: »He has not followed up his love-meeting. Kou 6 is well known in the sense of 'second marriage' (remarriage), but certainly not of 'love-meeting', so Waley (following Chu Tsün-sheng?) seems to have taken 6 \*ku to be loan char. for 14 \*ku / kau / ko u 'to meet'. — The interpr. A is of high age (Kyü), makes good sense and is well supported.

363. Wei hi wei hi, nan shan chao tsi 15.

A. Mao: We i we i 16 = 17 'the appearance of the clouds rising'. Mao thus takes we i we i as an attribute to the following ts i '(clouds) rise'. We i 18 (\*wâd | wâi | we i) = 'to cover, to screen, shady, dense' (vegetation), cf. Sun-tsī: Hing kün 19: "The places where rushes and trees are covering and screening"; we i 20 (\* iwad | jwgi | we i), same meaning as the preceding, cf. Lü: Ch'ang li 21: "The sheltered (screened) places in a house. Thus, our ode line: "Densely screening are the rising morning clouds on the Southern mountain. — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien, quoting this ode): we i 18 = 22 'plants being luxuriant'. Similarly Ts'ang hie p'ien (ap. comm. to Wsüan): we i 20 = 23 'plants and trees being luxuriant'. Han thus takes we i we i 16 to refer to the vegetation, not to the clouds: "Luxuriant (is the vegetation); there rise clouds on the Southern mountain". — C. Shuowen (quoting this ode) reads 24. This 25 is defined as 'a woman of black (dark) colour'; Shuowen has another char. 26, also defined as = 'black'. Thus: "Black and screening, they (the clouds) rise on the Southern mountain". No text par. in support of the word 'black'. — It is much better, with A, to take the

既駕予揭而歸內匪車嘌予刀嘌及栗丸無節度內疾及栗然近又其為獸心則刀故則 刀輕利傈邀內聖人則不可飄如漂搖以漂及風雨所漂搖以衣裳箜箜的鮮明兒 必盛力雙服而見如雙雙者茨內盛密兒加邁豆有楚刀列及邁豆有且刀且內多於衣裳髓離九髗口會五彩鮮色如何戈與役內役加及人荷戈與級之級3表4行為表級於天下5不遂其媾石媾及厚。遂,久加婣媾川稱及不稱其服石輔水溝水溝不薈予蔚 方南山朝隋《養蔚刀雲與兒及養內兼葭林木翳薈者和蔚以屋之翳蔚立草盛兒如 line as a whole, not cutting it up in two, as B. For this construction there are good par., e. g. ode 37, phr. 27, ode 47, phr. 28, etc.

#### Ode CLII: Shi kiu.

**364.** K'i pien yi k'i 29.

Cheng, in his comm. to Chouli: Pien shī, quotes 30.

- A. Mao: k'i 31 = 32'k'i-patterned'. In order to understand this, we must examine the foll. cases of  $31 \sim 33$  \*g'igg/g'ji/k'i:
- a. Ode 93, phr. 34: 'a k' i -coloured kerchief', to which Mao: k' i 33 = 35; Shuowen has the var. 36, same reading and meaning. Further ode 297, phr. 37: \*There are red horses and k' i horses \*, to which Mao: 38. Ts' ang 39 may mean 'azure-blue' (e. g. Heaven), 'green' (e. g. flies) and 'grey' (e. g. hair). Since in 297 it is a question of horses, which can neither be blue nor green, Mao evidently by his ts' ang 39 means 'grey'. A i 40 'artemisia' used as a colour name occurs e. g. in Li: K'ü li 41: \*A man of 50 is called a i (with grey in his hair) \*.
- $\beta$ . Shu: Ku ming 42, to which Ma Jung, who evidently had the var. 43 (just as in our ode:  $29 \sim 30$ ), says: k'i 31 = 44. Further ode 163, phr. 45: »My horses are k'i-coloured», to which Cheng (ap. Cheng yi to Shu: Ku ming) says = 44. Ts'ing 46 (\*ts'ièng), which is cognate to ts'ang 39 (\*ts'âng), like that word means 'blue', 'green' and 'grey' (i. e. the colour variants that contain no red or yellow). It would seem most natural to translate 44 'bluish black colour', i e. a lustrous black so deep as to seem shifting in blue. But again there are ex. of simply 47 (e. g. in Yi Chou shu), which cannot mean 'green' or 'blue' horse, but must mean 'grey horse'. Since in ode 162, phr. 45 it is again a question of horses, we have to translate 44 'grey and black colour'.
- $\gamma$ . Ode 128, phr. 48 (last w. means 'horse with white left feet'): \*I yoke my k'i-horses and my white-feated horses\*, to which Mao: k'i 31 = 32 'k'i-patterned' (as in our ode 152); this is more fully expl. by Shuowen: k'i 31 = 49 'a horse which is ts'ing grey (see  $\beta$  above) with black wen pattern (mottles), like k'i (chess:) checkers' (Hü tries an etymology: 31 \* g'i > g is etym. id. w. 50 \* g'i > g 'chess, checkers'); observe that Shuowen's ts'ing 46 here cannot mean 'bluish black', for then liwen 'with black pattern (mottles)' would be nonsense. Further Li: Yü tsao 51: \*A k'i-coloured cord band\*, to which Cheng = 52 'k'i-patterned mixed colours'.

From all this clearly follows that k'i  $31 \sim 33$  is fundamentally grey, yet not unicoloured but with black streaks or mottles. This is clearly stated in  $\gamma$  (Mao, Shuowen, Cheng), it tallies well with  $\beta$ , if we translate 44 as 'grey and black colour', and it may suit  $\alpha$  as well, for 35 may express the same idea: K'i 31 is not simply = ts'ang 39, but ts'ang ai 35, and ai is used for hair turning grey (at 50 years of age), i. e. with grey streaks in the black hair. Our A interpr. thus comes to this: \*His leathern cap is black-mottled grey\* (so also the k'i p'ien 42, 43 of Shu: Ku ming); in odes 297, 163, 128, phr. 37, 45, 48, k'i 31 'black-mottled grey horse'; in ode 93, k'i kin 34 means 'black-mottled grey kerchief'; in Li: Yü tsao k'i tsu shou 51 means 'black-mottled grey cord bands'. —

**B.** Cheng says our ode line 'ought to be read's 53: "His leathern cap has (jade) attachments". This because in Chouli: Pien shī we have 54 'jade attachments'. Shuowen has 55 (= 56) \*g'i g / g'ji / k' i = 57 'adornments of a leathern cap' (see gl. 156 above). Since our line here deals precisely with the pien 'leathern cap', Cheng has thought it allowable to take the Mao school reading k' i 31 to be a loan char. for the homophonous 55, 56, and to correct it accordingly. — There is no sufficient reason for this arbitrary correction of Mao's reading and interpr., which is well supported by par.

## Ode CLIII: Hia ts'üan.

**365.** Tsin pi pao lang *58*.

A. Mao: pao  $59 \ (*p\hat{o}g \mid pau \mid pao) = 60$  'root'. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Mao by pen 60 means 'bushy, thick-growing', because the phonetically similar 61 (\*pôg /  $p\hat{a}u/p$  a o), which means 'luxuriant growth' in Han texts, also is defined as = p e n 60in Kuang va; but there are no text ex. of 60 = 'bushy, thick-growing'. It could, it is true, be a short-form for 62, which means 'bushy, thick-growing' in the Si king fu of Chang Heng, but there are no early text ex. of this. That Mao really meant pao 59 = 60 'root' (not 'bushy') follows from par. below (esp. odes 263, 304). K'ung and Ch'en Huan therefore interpret the line by a word inversion: 63 = 64. Such an inversion is grammatically impossible. If pao means 'root' it must be as an adjective: »It overflows the rooty lang-plants» (the lang-plants which have vigorous roots). — **B.** Cheng: p a o 59 = 65 'plants growing thickly, bushy' (cf. Erya: p a o 59 = 66), thus: \*It overflows the bushy lang-plants\*. Cf. ode 121, phr. 67: \*They (the geese) settle on the bushy oak, to which Mao (after Erya) p a o 59 = 68 'compact, dense, (in this ex. pao 59 cannot possibly mean 'root'); ode 246, phr. 69: They (the rushes) become luxuriant and take shape, to which Cheng: pao 59 = 70 (Chu here: pao 59 = 71 'in bud but not yet bursting open', thus: They bud and take shape; Chu thus takes pao 59 as equal to 72 'to wrap, to be wrapped', cf. ode 245, phr. 77 below, but that is far-fetched). Further Shu: Yü kung 73: Plants and trees develop and become luxuriant, to which Shiwen: pao 72, variant pao 59 = 74 (Ma Jung had taken 72 in its primary sense: ... are wrapping each other, which is very strained). — We must compare:

Ode 189. Ju chu pao yi, ju sung mou yi 75. A. Mao: pao 59 = 60 'root', thus: \*Like the root of the bamboo, like the luxuriance of the pine \*. — B. Chu pao 59 = 76 'dense and steady', thus: \*Dense like the bamboo, luxuriant like the pine \*. — The parallelism with mou in the second line decides for B.

Ode 245. Shī fang shī pao 77. A. Mao: fang 78 = 79 'all over the field', pao 59 = 60 'root', thus: »It (the grain) fang spread in all directions (all over the field), it pao took root». — B. Cheng: fang 78 = 80, pao 59 = 81, thus: »It was fang regular, even (of even growth) and pao luxuriant. — C. Chu: fang 78 = 82, pao 59 = 71, thus: »It was (»housed» =) kept in kernel, it was (wrapped =) budding without bursting». — In the light of all the par. above, B is decidedly preferable.

草木盛色双焰兮蔚兮如焰双鹎双琐兮尾兮流雕之子双送兮送兮其之展也以其并伊默的伊景,联双联文双纂双纂巾的蓍艾色双铆的有醉有联玑蓍供曰联为蓍如艾,五十曰艾如綦舟双联弁从青黑色如我馬維联《青双青馬双駕我联馬州馬青曬文如博藥双綦が綦組綏双綦文雜色の其弁伊珠环玉瑾的珠。150年的知浸彼苞根的苞如本以葆双苯双苞狼双粮苞的草叢生《豐口集于苞棚双襁以方苞方體加茂,甲而未城又包刀草木澌潮包如装生如如竹苞矣如松茂矣以叢生而固为贵方

Ode 263. Ju shan chī pao, ju shuei chī liu 83. A. Mao: pao 59 = 60 'root', thus: \*(The royal armies are) like the (root =) base of a mountain, like the flow of a river\*. Here Mao is followed by all later comm. — B. Another interpr.: pao 59 = 68 compact, 'dense', as in ode 121 above (phr. 67), where this sense is unambiguous, thus: \*The royal armies are (compact, dense:) massive like a mountain, flowing like a river\*.

Ode 304. Pao yu san nie 84. Ts'i (ap. comm. to Han shu) reads 85. A. Mao: pao 59 = 60, thus: "The root had three new shoots". — B. Cheng (after Erya): pao 59 = 66: "Luxuriantly there were three new shoots" (from the stump).

It follows that there is no single case in which a sense p = 0.59 = 60 root' is certain or even preferable. On the other hand, the meaning p = 0.59 = 0.00 compact, dense, luxuriant' is entirely satisfactory in all cases, obviously preferable in most of them and absolutely sure in ode 121 (phr. 67). Just as 67 means: \*They (the geese) settle on the bushy oak, our quite analogous 58 means (with B): \*It (the water) overflows the bushy lang-plants.

### Ode CLIV: Ts'i yüe.

**366.** Yi chī jī pi fa 86.

A. Mao: pi-fa 87 (\*piet-piwat) = 88 'the wind being cold', thus: \*In the days of the first month, there is the cold wind. Shuowen quotes 89, same reading and meaning. Han (ap. Yü chu pao tien) reads 90. No text par. with this meaning. — B. Another interpr.: In the days of the first month, there is a rushing wind. Cf. ode 202, phr. 91: The whirl-wind comes rushing, Mao: fafa = tsi 'rapid' (to which Cheng 92: 'cold and rapid', an attempt to reconcile Mao's definitions in odes 154 and 202). This is in accord with the fundamental sense of 93 'to hurl, to let fly', e.g. an arrow. For pi, cf. 94 'to shoot' (Ch'u: T'ien wen). For the binome, cf. further ode 222, phr. 95: \*Squirting is the fountain \*. This 96 \*pjet-pjwət (Han var. ap. Yü p'ien 97) must be closely cognate to our binome here, and denotes the rapid spurting (the \*shooting\*) of the spring water. For Shuowen's variant 98, cf. Li: Yüe ki 99: \*(The dancers) are swift but not rushing\*. This 100 \*b'wât / b'wât / p o (also in Li: Shao yi = 1 'very rapid') is clearly cognate to our 93 \*piwāt here. Shuowen's Shi text probably had 2 (cf. Han above), and Hü added the radical 3 'ice' in order to make it agree with the authoritative Mao interpr. — B is better substantiated by text par. and preferable.

367. T'ien tsün chī hi 4.

A. Mao has no gloss for h i, hence: The inspector of the fields comes, and is glad. — B. Cheng: h i 5 ( $^*\chi i \rightarrow g$ ) is a short-form for 6  $^*\hat{t}'i \rightarrow g/ts'i/c$  h'  $\bar{\imath}$ : The inspector of the fields comes, and is feasted. — There is no sufficient reason for this correction.

**368.** Nü chī yi k'uang 7.

A. Mao: y i 8=9, thus: "The girls take their deep baskets". No text par. — B. Chu: y i 8= 'deep and beautiful'. Chu does not abandon Mao entirely, but adds 'beautiful': "The girls take their beautiful baskets". Cf. ode 260, phr. 11: "Beautiful virtue", to which Mao (after Erya): y i 8=12 'beautiful'. This meaning is common (ode 264; Tso: Wen 8, etc.). — B is better supported.

Ts'ai fan k'i k'i, see gl. 39.

369. Ts'an yüe t'iao sang 13.

A. Mao has no gloss, hence takes t'i a o 14 in its ordinary sense of 'branch'; so also Cheng: "In the silkworm month they branch the mulberry trees". T'i a o 14 then \*d'iôg | d'ieu | t'i a o (Shīwen also read \*t'iôg | t'ieu | t'i a o, with alternation in the word stem: \*d'iôg 'branch': \*t'iôg 'to branch'). — B. Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 15:

»In the silkworm month they pick the mulberry trees». Cf. Tso: Süan 12, phr. 16: »To pick fight» (provoke to battle), etc. T'i a o 17 was \*t'iog / t'ieu / t'i a o. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

870. Yi pi nü sang 18.
A. Mao: yi 19 = 20, thus: They take and bundle the small mulberry trees. Later comm. all think that Mao took 19 \* ia / ie / y i to be loan char. for 21 \*kia / kjie / k i 'to pull aside', as in ode 197, phr. 22: When felling the tree, they pull it from the side (21 in Tso: Siang 14 means 'to turn over by pulling one leg'), which, however, tallies poorly with Mao's wording here, and is phonetically unsatisfactory. We might rather think of ode 179, phr. 23: "The two outside horses did not deviate to the sides, the 19 being here loan char. for 24 (\*ia) 'to incline', and construe: "They (incline =) bring aside the small mulberry trees, which would to some extent agree with Mao (his gloss being then a free paraphrase). In any case, all this is very forced. — B. Chu: 25 'to take the leaves and leave the branches intact is called yi 19'. For this, no support whatever. — C. Tai Chen: y i 19 = 26 'ample, luxuriant', thus: Luxuriant are those small mulberry trees. Cf. ode 55, phr. 27: "The royal fodder and the creepers are luxuriant, to which Mao: yi yi = 28; ode 191, phr. 29: \*Full is its richness, (of vegetation), to which Mao: y i = 30 'tall, high-growing' (Cheng takes vi 19 here as loan char. for 24: "Full are its, sc. the mountain's, slopes"; but the par. in ode 290, phr. 31: »Full is its, sc. the grain's, accumulation» decides for Mao). — C is the only interpr. which is supported by text par., and therefore preferable.

**371.** Si yüe siu yao *32*.

A. Mao: siu 33 (\*siôg | sièu | siu) = 34 'to seed without having flowered is called siu'. This is after Erya, Shī ts'ao. Yet various early Erya editions (ap. Shīwen) read 35 'to flower and to seed is called siu'. We have here two possibilities: a. Either the Erya version having 36 'not' is correct, and was followed by Mao; then our line would mean: In the fourth month there is the yao grass which seeds without flowering, no text par.  $\beta$ . Or the Erya version without 36 'not' is correct, and then Mao's gloss suggests that a corruption of Erya has taken place early in some version seen by Mao, or else that Mao's gloss has been corrected after the corrupted Erya text; if so, our line means: In the fourth month, there is the flowering and seeding yao grass. Cf. ode 245, which praises the husbandry of Hou Tsi, phr. 37: It (the grain) grew, and it flowered and set ears (so Chu, against Mao's repeated 34); here, as describing exemplary rich and good grain, this meaning is certain. This unambiguous par. decides for  $\beta$ , and the Erya version which read 35 is correct; Mao's gloss, in its present form (built on a corrupted Erya text) is incorrect. Many other texts show

that siu 33 means precisely and particularly the flowering of the herbs, e.g. Li: Yüe ling 39: \*The violent wind comes, and the flowering plants do not set fruit\*. — B. Another school (ap. Hing Ping's comm. to Erya) reads 40: \*In the fourth month there is the yu yao grass\*. Yu 41 (\*ziôg | izu | yu) is then part of a binome. It means 'weeds' (odes 102, 192 etc.). — The context is 42. Just as in line 2: \*In the fifth month there is the singing cicada\*, the penultimate word is a verb in the present participle ('singing'), so in line 1 the corresponding word siu should be a present participle: \*In the fourth month there is the flowering-and-seeding yao grass\*. This decides in favour of A  $\beta$ .

372. K'iung chī hün shu 43. A similar line ode 156.

A. Mao: k'iung 44 (\*k'iūng | k'iung | k'iung | mng) = 45 (\*g'iōng | g'iung | k'iung) 'extreme, to the extreme, to exhaust', thus: \*Exhaustingly (completely) we stop up (the house) and smoke out the rats. Cf. Yi Chou shu: Ti k'uang 46: \*To succour those who are exhausted. (comm. 44 = 45, after Shuowen and Mao above). — B. Chu: k'iung 44 = 47 'hole, crevice', thus: \*The holes being stopped up, we smoke out the rats. Cf. the place name K'ung sang 48 \*The Hollow mulberry tree. which is alt. called K'iung sang 49 (Lü). 44 \*k'iūng and 50 \*k'ung are then cognate words. We must compare the foll. cases:

a. Chouli: Yün jen 51: \*The vaulted part is one third \*, to which Cheng Chung (1st. c. A. D.) says: \*It should be read 50 the hollow part, the bulging part 52 of the drum's belly \*.

 $\beta$ . Ode 257. Yi nien k'iung ts'ang 53. Mao gives no direct expl. of k'iung. A. Cheng (in comm. to Chouli: Yün jen) and Kuo P'o (comm. to Erya) take k'iung 44 to mean 52 'vaulted', thus: •The vaulted blue• (= Heaven). — B. Ch'en Huan: Erya k'iung 44 = 54 'great', and this is the same as 45 'extreme', thus: •The (extreme =) great blue •.

 $\gamma$ . Ode 186. Tsai pi k'ung ku 55. A. Mao: k'ung 50 = 54 'great', thus: »In that great valley». This shows that Mao thought the k'ung 50 here is a loan char. for k'iung 44, Erya = 'great'. — B. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan) reads 56, defined as = 57: •In that deep valley. When in Tso: Chao 4 we find phr. 58, this does not mean: »In the extreme valleys deep into the mountains», but k'iung 45 here is loan char. for the very similar k'iung 44, thus: »In the deep valleys, deep into the mountains». This K'iung ku 'the deep valley' occurs as place name in Tso: Ting 7.

 $\delta$ . Ode 191. Pu yi k'ung wo shī 59: "You should not exhaust our crowd", to which Mao: k'ung 50 = 45.

From all this clearly follows that k'iung 44 (\*k'iŭng), cognate to 50 (\*k'ung) 'hollow', has a fundamental sense of 'hollow'; either convexe: a \*rising hollow = 'a vault', so unambiguously in phr. 51; or concave: a \*depressed hollow \*, so in the phr. 56 the 'deep valley', the 'empty valley' — here this sense is obvious, since the Mao version has k'ung ku (55). Again the variants k'ung sang  $48 \sim k$ 'iung sang 49 clearly point to the sense of 'hollow' for k'iung 44. Consequently, in phr. 53 k'iung ts'ang undoubtedly means 'the vaulted blue'. Finally, when k'iung 44 really means 45 'exhausted', as in phr. 46, it is not due to a fundamental sense of 'extreme', but 'hollow' = 'empty' = 'exhausted': 46: \*To succour the (hollow = empty ones =) exhausted ones \*. And so we have the cognate k'ung 50 'hollow' used also in phr. 59: \*You should not k'ung (empty =) exhaust our crowd \*. — In our ode 154 here, phr. 43 therefore decidedly means, with B: \*The (hollows =) holes being stopped up \*.

**373.** Pa yüe p'u (po) tsao 60.

A. Mao: 61 = 62 'to beat', thus: \*In the eighth month they beat the date trees \* (knock down the fruit). Shīwen reads 61 \*p'uk / p'uk / p 'u. Mao takes it be loan char. for 63 \*p'uk / p'uk / p 'u 'to beat' (the latter common, Shī, Shu etc.). In a poem by Tu Fu (T'ang time) we find 64: \*In front of the hall we beat the date trees \*. Ch'en Huan says that in his time the Shantung peasants gather the dates by beating the trees with poles. The same custom was evidently current already in Mao's time, hence his gloss. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 61 = 65 'to take, to pluck' (after Kuang ya), thus: \*In the eight month they pluck the date trees \*. 61 \*pŭk / påk / p o primarily means 'to cut off, to flay' (so ode 209), 'to peel' (Chouli), hence: 'to strip the date trees' = to pluck the fruit. — B has the advantage of taking 61 in its ordnary reading and sense, without any sound-changing loan-character speculation, and is therefore preferable.

**374.** Yi kie mei shou *66*.

Kie 67. Mao has no gloss here.

**A.** Cheng: kie 67 = 68 'to help', thus: \*In order (to help =) to promote longevity». Cf. Shu: Shao kao 69: \*Let them associate with and help (assist) our officers of Chou\*; Li: Tseng tsī wen 70: \*The assistant son\*; Tso: Hi 7, phr. 71: \*To seek the help (assistance) of a great state. — B. Ch'en Huan: kie 67 = 72 'great', thus: In order to enlarge (increase) the longevity. Cf. Yi: Kua 36, phr. 73: To receive this great felicity»; Tso: Siang 26, phr. 74: »He is the honoured and great brother of our prince»; Tso: Ai 14, phr. 75: »There are big deer»; etc. (common). — Our line 66 is quite analogous to ode 209, first st., phr. 76; here again Cheng says kie 67 = 68 'to help': In order to help (promote) the great felicity; but Mao (under ode 207, phr. 77) says kie 67 = 72 'great': »In order to enlarge (increase) our great felicity». Since the same ode 209, second st., has the line 78: »To requite by great felicity», where the meaning 'great' is unambiguous (as in the Yi ex., phr. 73), it is obvious that in the first st. we must translate, with Mao: »In order to enlarge (increase) the great felicity. Consequently, in our ode 154 here as well (phr. 66), we should interpret, with B: »In order to enlarge (increase) the longevity». — Quite analogous are four more cases:

Ode 211, phr. 79: »In order to enlarge our harvest» (Cheng, less good: »In order to help our harvest»).

Ode 247, phr. 80: To increase your brightness.

Ode 282, phr. 81: \*You enlarge (endow) me by ample blessing \* (Cheng, less good: \*You assist me by ample blessing \*).

Ode 293, phr. 82: \*Thereby he became very great\*; so Ch'en Huan (Cheng, less good: \*Thereby he was greatly helped\*; Chu: \*Therefore he donned his great armour\* — very far-fetched).

莠葽,莠在四月秀葽五月鳴蜩机夸登無鼠私夸允翰《振夸切空隙《空桑《夸桑 50 空口等者三之一口夸隆玩以念夸薏 51 大 57 在彼圣谷 56 在彼夸谷 52 深谷 52 深山 68 台 55 不直空我師 62 八月刺襄《刺《擊 62 扎撲《堂前撲麋 64 取《以介眉寿 62 介 64 助 67 比介于我有周卿事 72 介于以求介於大國 72 大 72 只並介稿 74 專君之貴介著 75 有介壤 76 以介景福 72 介爾聚福 72 報以介福 78 以介我稷表 48 介爾昭明 10 介爾聚

Mei shou 83.

A. Mao: mei shou 83 'eyebrow-longevity' = 84 'bristly eyebrows', the bushy eyebrows being then a sign of high old age. — B. Another interpr.: mei 85 \*mijor / mji / mei is loan char. for 86 \*mijor / mjwei / wei 'energetic, vigorous' (odes 235, 259, Li: Li k'i etc., common), thus: \*In order to enlarge (increase) a vigorous old age. — In the bronze inscriptions, corresponding to the mei shou 83 of the Shī, we meet constantly 87, the first char. having many slight variations, one of which is 88. There can be no doubt (as pointed out already by Ts'ien Ta-hin) that the 86 \*mijor 'vigorous' of odes 235, 259 is a modern graph derived from and corresponding to this archaic graph; the lower part of the variant 88 has been corrupted into 89 in the modern graph. The archaic 87 has also given rise to the modern char. 90 for the word hin, and right enough this hin is sometimes wr. 86 (e. g. Ts'ê: Han ts'ê). The standing binome for 'high old age' mei ~ wei shou of early Chou time lived on, in a truncated form, in W. Han colloquial (Fang yen 85 = 91).

A. Mao reads thus. Ch'ung 93 (\*d'iung | d'iwong | ch'ung, even tone) = 'slowly ripening grain'; lu 94 (\*gliôk | liuk | lu) = 'quickly ripening grain'. — B. Shuowen (quoting this ode) reads 95, same meanings. The combination 95 occurs also in Lü: Jen ti, and with the var. 96 in Chouli: Nei tsai. 97 was \*d'iung | d'iwong | ch'ung, and 98 was \*liôk | liuk | lu. — 93 is cognate to 93 \*d'iung | d'iwong | ch ung (oblique tone) 'heavy' (the \*heavy\* grain), the char. elucidatingly enlarged by rad 115 in 97. And 94 \*gliôk and 98 \*liôk are closely cognate (two variations of the same stem).

376. Ki k'i ch'eng wu 99.

A. Mao: ch'eng 100 = 1 'to mount' (common), thus: Quickly let us get up on the house. — B. Cheng: ch'eng 100 = 2. What Cheng has meant by this is disputed. Ma Juei-ch'en refers to Shuowen's definition 100 = 3 'to cover', hence: Quickly let us (cover =) roof the house. Yet Shuowen means something quite different by its definition. 3 a. o. means 'to overthrow, vanquish', and 100 means 'to get on top of' = 'get the better of, to vanquish' (so in Tso: Süan 2, Ts'ê: Han ts'ê, etc.). So the Shuowen gloss simply means: 100 = 3 'to vanquish', and is not applicable in our ode here. Yet the Lu school seems to have had the idea of ch'eng 100 = 'to cover', for Chao K'i (comm. to Meng) quoting this ode paraphrases 4: Quickly cover your huts out in the open. No text par. — B lacking support, A is clearly preferable. 377. Kiu yüe sushuang 5.

A. Mao: su 6 (\*siôk | siuk | su) = 7 (\*siôk | siuk | so) 'to shrink'. Mao means that the two words are cognate (siôk: siôk). For 7 = 'to shrink' cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê 8: "To advance and to retreat, to become full (to swell) and to shrink". Thus: In the ninth month there is (shrinking =) shrivelling (of the plants) and frost. Cf. Li: Yüe ling 9: "(In the cold air) the plants and trees all shrivel", to which Cheng 10. — B. Chu: su 6 = 'severe', thus: "In the ninth month it is severe (air) and there is frost". Cf. Chuang: T'ien tsī fang 11: "The highest Yin (darkness) is severe". — The B metaphor 'severe' = 'cold air' would be possible here, but absolutely not in the Yüe ling par. 9. No reason to abandon A, which is supported by a good par.

### Ode CLV: Ch'i yao.

**378.** En sï k'in sï 12.

A. Mao read 13 (\* an / an / en): »I loved them and toiled for them ». — B. Lu (ap. an ode by Ts'ai Yung) read 14. This 15 (\* ian / ian / yin) means 'grieved, pained', see gl. 65 above: »I have taken pains and toiled for them ». (16 is a common binome in later literature). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

**379.** Yü tsī chī min sī *17.* 

A. Mao: y  $\ddot{u}$  18 (\* $di\delta k$  | iuk | y  $\ddot{u}$ ) = 19 'tender, young', thus: \*My young children, for them you should have pity. 18 is here a loan char. for 20 (\* $di\delta k$  | iuk | y  $\ddot{u}$ ) 'to nourish'. Y  $\ddot{u}$  - t s  $\ddot{i}$  therefore: 'the child in rearing'. Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien), where the current Ku-wen version has 21 'my principal son', but the Kin-wen version (ap. Yang Hiung and Shuowen) has 22. For 18 as loan for 20, cf. also Li: Y $\ddot{u}$  ki 23: \*To become pregnant and breed\*. — B. Chu takes 18 = 20 as the principal verb: \*I have reared my children — I am to be pitied\*. This is grammatically unsatisfactory because of the c h  $\ddot{i}$  24. — A is well substantiated.

380. C h ' $\ddot{e}$  p i s a n g t u 25.

A. Mao: sang tu 26 = 27 'the roots of the mulberry tree', thus: I took the mulberry roots. 28 is here read \*d'o / d'uo / t u, and is cognate to 28 \*t'o / t'uo / t 'u 'earth, soil' ('the earth part' of the tree). Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 29, reading and meaning the same. 30 = 'root' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). — B. Another school (Tsī lin ap. Shīwen) reads 31, the 32 likewise read \*d'o / d'uo / t u, but defined as = 33, thus: I took the mulberry bark. No text par. — A is better substantiated.

**381.** Yü shou kie kü 34.

A. Mao: kie kü 35 = 36 'to grasp', thus: \*My hands (so. claws) were grasping (the herbs)\*. Mao's gloss is not, as many have stated, a mere interpr. by sound similarity, for 35 was \*kiet-kio and 36 was \*kiāk-kiwok. For 37 = 'to grasp' cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in Ts'ê 3 (Pao Piao version — other v. have 38), phr. 39: \*Kou-tsien at last seized and killed him\* (certain comm. take 37 here to be loan char. for 40 'to press', which is quite arbitrary). Of 41 = 'to grasp' only Han time text ex. (Wei tu fu); this 41 \*kio is probably cognate to 42 \*kiu 'to grasp', just as 43 \*sio (Sün: Kün tao 44) is cognate to 45 \*siu (46 etc.). — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): kie kü 35 = 47 'mouth and feet (here claws) doing work', thus: \*My hands (claws) have been toiling\*. No text par. — A is better substantiated.

A. Mao:  $t \, s \, u \, 50 = 51$  'to make, to do'. This is enigmatic. Probably, with K'ung, Mao took 50 (\*tso / tsuo / tsu) to be a loan char. for the homophonous 52 (Shïwen even adduces 52 as a variant here, which is probably an attempt at correction in the spirit of Mao's gloss), which in Erya is defined as = 53 'to begin, to initiate'. Ch'u 49 means 'to breed, to give birth to'. Thus our ode line: "What I ch'u tsu (begat and initiated =) created (made)" (sc. the nest). Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 54 (paraphrased in Shī ki 55): "The black-haired people began to starve" (so the Kin-

382. Yü so ch'u tsu 48. Shīwen registers a var. 49.

 wen version; the now orthodox Ku-wen version reads 1 i m i n t s u k i 56: \*The black-haired people is embarrassed by starving\*); Li: Chung-ni yen kü 57: \*There are no means of taking the initiative and secure harmony among the people\*. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): t s u 50 = 58 'to accumulate, to hoard', thus: \*What I ch' u t s u hoarded\*. No text par., unless t s u 50 'tax' etym. means: what is hoarded (and not consumed) for delivery. For 59 'to hoard' cf. ode 35, phr. 60: \*I have a fine hoard\* (of vegetables for the winter). — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: t s u 50 is here a short-form of 61 (\*tso / tsuo / t s u, Ts'ie yün and Shīwen). Cf. Chouli: Hiang shī 62: \*(At the sacrifices) he furnishes the Imperata grass and the b u n d l e s of s t r a w\* (which form the support of the objects presented). Thus: \*The bundles of straw which I hoarded\*. — The par. with the preceding line 63 decides for C: \*My claws were grasping — the t' u herbs which I picked — and the bundles of straw which I hoarded\*.

383. Y ü v ü t s' i a o t s' i a o 64.

A. Mao: ts'iao ts'iao 65 (\*dz'iog / dz'iau / ts'iao) = shai 66 'diminished,reduced', thus: My wings are (reduced =) worn. Cf. Li: Yüe ki 67: (When feeling depressed) the sound is reduced (short) and diminishing (waning). Here Shiwen reads \*tsiog | tsiäu | t s i a o, but mentions that Sü Miao read (as in our ode) \*dz'ioq | dz'iäu | ts'iao. Etym. same word is 68 \*dz'iog / dz'iäu / ts'iao 'dwarf' (Kyü: Lu yü; Lie: T'ang wen, etc.). Therefore, when 65 means 'to blame, to criticize', as often (Lü, Chuang, Sün), it properly means 'to detract, to derogate', the fundamental meaning being 'short, to reduce'. — B. Shiwen records the variant 69 \*dz'ioq / dz'i\u00e4u / t s' i a o, and later comm. take 65 to be loan char, for 69. The latter means 'to burn, a torch' etc. (cognate to 70 \*tsioq / tsiau / t s i a o 'to burn', common), but also, through extension of meaning, '(burning =) anxious, depressed' (cf. Chuang: T'ien ti 71: »His looks are anxious»). The word is then often wr. 72, esp. in the binome 73 (dictionary variants 74). Through this extension of meaning also = 'haggard', cf. Kyü: Wu yü 75: \*And he became from day to day more haggard. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks 69 is the correct graph in our ode, and by ext. of meaning (burned > dried up > shrivelled > faded) gives: »My wings are faded». Cf. Huai: Pen king 76: »When vapours and fogs, frost and snow do not clear up, all things (become shrivelled:) fade and die ». — B is much more far-fetched than A.

384. Yü wei siao siao 77.

A. Mao: s i a o 78 (\*siôg | sieu | s i a o) = 79 'frayed', thus: \*My tail is frayed \*. No text par. When K'ung paraphrases 80, it is not clear whether K'ung had a text with the var. 81, or he interprets 78 \*siôg as a loan char. for 81 \*siog | siūu | s i a o 'to melt, to dissolve': \*My tail is (dissolved =) worn \*. — B. Another school (ap. the T'ang stone classics) reads 82. This 83 \*siôg | siou | s i u means 'dried meat', thus: \*My tail is (like dried meat =) shrunk \*. — Since 83 is a well-attested and common word, B is preferable. 78 in A is probably but a loan char, for 83.

Yü shī k'iao k'iao, ree gl. 33.

#### Ode CLVI: Tung shan.

T'ao t'ao pu kuei, see gl. 288.

**385.** Ling yü k'i meng 84.

**A.** Mao: meng 85 (\*mung | mung | meng) = 86 'the appearance of rain', which says nothing (\*The falling rain is raining\*). — **B.** Shuowen: meng 85 = 87 'small rain\*, thus: \*The falling rain drizzles\*. No text par. — **C.** Lu (ap. comm. to Ch'u) reads 88 (\*mung | mung | meng), defined as = 89, thus: \*The falling rain is ample\*. No text par. — **D.** Another school (ap. Hing Ping's comm. to Erya) also reads 88, defined as = 90 'dark, obscure': \*The falling rain is darkening\* (the sky, as opp. to

clear weather). This is an extension of meaning of the fundamental sense 'to cover'. 91 (\*mung) in the sense of 'dark, darkening' is very common, and in the particular sense of 'darkened sky, cloudiness' we have it in Shu: Hung fan. For 85 (version A above) as an enlarged form of this 91 'dark', cf. Huai: Chuei hing 92: \*The Fen river is (dark, not clear =) turbid and muddy \*. — D is best supported.

386. Wu shī hang mei 93.

All comm. agree that 94 is a verb = 95 'to serve', as often. A. Mao: mei 96 $(*mwar \mid mu\hat{a}i \mid m e i) = 97 (*miwar \mid mjwei \mid w e i)$ . Later comm. disagree as to what Mao meant by this: a. Ch'en Huan thinks he read 98 h i ng we i 'to practise small details', as in Sün: Yao wen (Mao was a follower of Sün's) 99: To practise small details without being careless. Mao would then take 96 \*mwər to be a loan char, for 97 \*miwer. But then, in order to make any sense of the ode line, Ch'en Huan has to take wu 100 in the sense of 1 (see gl. 95 above) 'to exert oneself', thus: »Let us exert ourselves in serving and practise (even) small details. Exceedingly far-fetched.  $\beta$ . Shïwen thinks Mao read 2 (\*g'ăng) as loan char. for 3 (\*g'ăng) 'cross-wise, a crosspiece', here verb: 'to carry cross-wise', and K'ung adds that 97 'small, minute', here the small object', is Mao's definition of the 96 'gag' carried by the soldiers in order to keep silent (Hu Ch'eng-kung tries to ameliorate this by taking Mao's wei 97 to be a short-form for h u e i 4, which in Erya is defined as = 5 'to stop', thus 'the stopper' = 'the gag'; but there are no text ex. of Erya's gloss, and it is valueless). Thus: \*Do not let us serve (as soldiers) and heng carry cross-wise (between the teeth) me i the gag». — B. Cheng reads 2 \*g'âng / yâng / h a n g 'rank' (of soldiers); m'e i 96 has then to be taken as a verb: Do not let us serve (as soldiers), and go in ranks and be gagged. — C. Another school (ap. Yülan) reads 6, thus correcting 2 into 7. The phr. 8 'to have a gag in the mouth' is common (Chouli: Hien mei shī). This emendation is based on a gloss in Shīwen, where Lu Tê-ming has misunderstood Cheng's comm. — B makes good sense without any alteration of the text or loan char, speculation, and is therefore preferable.

387. Cheng tsai sang ye 9.

A. Mao: cheng 10 = 11 'for a long time' (11 \* d'ien / d'ien / t' ien is then loan char. for 12 \* d'ien / d'ien / ch' en 'of old, for a long time'; Cheng elucidates Mao's gloss by the synon. 13). Thus: \*(Those crawling caterpillars) for a long time have been in the mulberry grounds \*. — B. Chu: cheng 10 is 'a particle', thus simply: \*(Those crawling caterpillars) are in the mulberry grounds \*. Ma Juei-ch'en speculates that 10 \* tiong / tsiong / cheng / cheng

Ode 156, st. 3. Cheng tsaili sin 16. A. Cheng: cheng 10 = 13, li 17 (\* $l_i \not \approx$ ) is loan char. for 18 (\* $l_i \not \approx$ ), thus: \*For a long time they have been cleaving firewood \*. — B. Chu: cheng 10 = 'a particle', thus: \*(The gourds) are (hanging) on the chestnut firewood \*. — C. Mao (after Erya): cheng 10 = 15, thus: \*(The gourds) are (hanging) in great number on the chestnut firewood \*. (Han ap. Shīwen inst. of 19 'chestnut firewood' reads  $20 *gl_i \hat{o}k / l_i uk / lu$  'accumulated firewood', no text par.).

Ode 164. Mei yu liang p'eng, cheng ye wu jung 21. A. Mao: cheng 10 = 11 (loan for 12, as above): Though there are good friends, for a long time there has been no aid. — B. Chu: cheng 10 = 'a particle': Though there are good friends, there has been no aid. — C. Another interpr.: cheng 10 = 15: Though there are good friends, even if they are many, there has been no aid.

Ode 171. Cheng jan cho cho 22. A. Cheng: cheng 10 = 13, thus: \*(In the South there are fine fishes), for a long time they have been taken under baskets \*.

— B. Chu: cheng 10 = 'a particle'. — C. Wang Su (ap. Shīwen): cheng 10 = 15, thus: \*(In the South there are fine fishes), in great number they are taken under baskets \*.

For the interpr. A: cheng 10 = 'for a long time' and for B cheng 10 = 'a particle' there are no text par. outside these four disputed cases. But for C: cheng 10 = 15 'numerous' there are many: Shu: Yi Tsi 23: "The numerous people, the multitude"; ode 255 id.; ode 232, phr. 24: "(The swine) in multitudes wade through the stream" (Cheng: cheng 10 = 15); ode 238, phr. 25: "Many men are rowing" (simil. ode 300), etc. Interpr. C alone is supported by par. and clearly preferable (though Mao has recognized this only in phr. 16, Wang Su recognizing it also in phr. 22; it is particularly curious that Mao explains cheng 10 differently in ode 156, st. 1, phr. 9 and the same ode 156, st. 3, phr. 16, which two lines are absolutely parallel!).

388. T'ing t'uan lu ch'ang 26.

A. Mao: t'ing-t'uan = 27 'foot-prints of deer', thus: \*(Full of) foot-prints is the deers' area, i. e. \*trampled down is the area where the dear have been \*. 28 \*t'ieng | t'ieng | t'ing (var. 29, Shīwen) is a var. of the same stem as 28 \*d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing 'small bank between fields' (Tso: Siang 25), properly: 'the trampled path' (as opp. to the field which should not be trampled). For 30 (var. 31, Shīwen) \*t'wân | t'uân | t'uan no early text par. In Kiu sī (by Wang Yi, E. Han) we find 32 (\*t'wân, Ts'ie yün, defined as = 33, which is a corruption of 34 'foot-prints'): \*On the path of the deer, there are trampled foot-prints \*. — B. Chu: t'ing t'uan = 35 'the vacant space at the side of the hut', thus: \*The space by the hut is (has become) a deers' area \*. No text par.; it seems to be a meaning made ad hoc by Chu. — The par. with next line: yi-yao siao-hing 36 \*brilliant is the glow-worm \* (see gl. 389 below) shows that the subject of the clause is placed last, preceded by the predicate: \*Footprinted is the deers' area — brilliant is the glow-worm \*. This confirms A. 389. Yi yao siao hing 36.

A. Mao: 37: 'yi yao means lin (ordinarily = 'will-o'-the-wisp), lin is here = ying huo fire-fly'. Thus: "The firefly moves in the night". — B. Han (ap. an essay by Ch'en Sī): yi yao 38 = 39, meaning really 40, thus: "The will-o'-the-wisp moves in the night". — C. Shuowen defines yi 41 as = 42 'amply brilliant', quoting this ode, and takes yi - yao to be the predicate of the clause, not the subject: "Brilliant is the (night-walker =) glow-worm" (siao hing, cf D next). For yi 41 (zipp/ipp/yi) cf. 45 below., yao 43 'to shine' common. — D. Chu: yi yao 38 = 44 'uncertain brightness', thus: "Fitfully shining is the siao-hing night-walker". For yi - yao in this sense, no text par.; this seems to be a meaning invented by Chu to suit the "night-walker". Siao hing in the sense of 'glow-worm' is recorded in the

Pen ts'ao kang mu and probably was coll. current in Chu's time. — In st. 4 we find 45: The oriole flies about, brilliant are its feathers (to which Cheng, foll. by Chu: y i - y a o 38 = 46 'freshly bright'). This decides in favour of C. There is a strict parallelism: yi yao siao king - yi yao k'i yü: »Brilliant is the glowworm » ~ »brilliant are its feathers».

Shai sao k'iung chī, see gl. 372.

## **390.** Yu t'uan kua k'u 47.

A. Mao: t'uan 48 (Shïwen  $*d'w\hat{a}n/d'u\hat{a}n/t'uan$ ) = 49. By this Mao must have meant the same as in ode 94, phr. 50 (\*d'wân / d'uân / t'uan): »The falling dew is ample, to which Mao 51 't' uan t' uan = 'ample and much' (Shiwen var. 52), for the simple 53 (\* $\dot{t}iwan$ ) is used for this 54 \* $\dot{d}$ 'wân e. g. in Chouli: Ta sī t'u: 55. Thus our ode line here: The numerous gourds are bitter. For tun 48 (\*twon, loan char. for 54,  $53 \ d'wan) = 'ample$ , numerous', cf. ode 246, phr. 56: »Numerous are those rushes by the road (crowded, dense, Mao = 57). — B. Chu reads 48 \*twor/ tuâi / tuei without explanation, and Ma Juei-ch'en follows him, referring to st. 2 of our ode, phr. 58: "T u e i solitary (each one of us) there sleeps by himself, thus here: \*the gourds that are (solitary =) one by one \*. Yet the meaning 'solitary' in that st. 2, phr. 58 (Shīwen reads \*twər / tuậi / tuei without definition) is quite unsupported by par. and merely made ad hoc (by Chu; the earlier comm. give no clue) to suit the following tu su. Waley is certainly right in reading it in the ordinary way: \*twon / tuon / tun 'solid, staunch': "Staunchly (each one of us) there passes the night by himself. — The following line cheng tsaili sin has been determined (gl. 387) to mean sin great number they are on the chestnut firewoods, and the parallelism decides for A. Moreover this 48 \*d'wan must be closely cognate to 48 \*twən 'thick, to heap' and to 59 \*d'wən 'to heap' (see gl. 112) and to the 60 in ode 170, phr. 61: \*(The war chariots) were numerous and ample \*, this latter read \*t'wan /  $t'u \ni n / t' u n$  and  $t'w \ni r / t'u \hat{a}i / t' u e i$ .

# **391.** Huang po k'i ma 62.

Mao: 63. This builds on Erya: 64. Sun Yen (3rd c.) and Kuo P'o in their Erya comm. both quote our Shi line 65, which shows that Lu read 65, Mao's 66 being a short-form. There are different opinions as to the meaning of these definitions:

A. K'ung interprets: »Yellow and white (yellow with white spots or streaks) is huang, red and white (red with white spots or streaks) is po». Thus: \*Yellow-andwhite-spotted, and red-and-white-spotted are her horses. — B. Ch'en Huan adduces for comparison the Erya entry 67, which does not mean 'blue and black' (blue with black spots) is h ü a n', but 'bluish-black is h ü a n'. In analogy with this, the Erya defini-

在栗新 凡栗 12 裂 凡栗新 20 薄新 21 每有良朋烝也無戒 22 烝然罩罩 21 烝民 21 烝涉波 矣好烝徒情之必可睡鹿竭以鹿跻山町25灯28疃以疃埂30鹿跋兮躖躖31仟涑34仟 速云舍旁隙地《熠耀宵行云熠耀爝也爝望火也云熠耀云烁《鬼火《熠《盛光《 耀州明不定免《急度于飛熠耀其羽《鮮明《有敦瓜苦《敦州事事然邓零露溥兮 点薄薄然盛多也及圓 zz專zz專.圓 zz其民專而長zz敦彼行華以聚zz敦彼獨宿 zz 屯 a 煤 u 嘽嘽煌煌 a 皇 駁 其 B a 黄白 曰 皇 厮白 曰 駁 4 厮 白 駮 。 黄 白 蝗 a 驅 a 皇

tion here should mean: 'reddish white is po (a very light red, bordering on white), yellowish white is huang (a very light yellow, bordering on white)'. Thus: "Yellowish-white and reddish-white are her horses". — Since po (wr. 68 or 69) means 'mixed, disparate' (e.g. in Sün: Wang pa), and since the char. has 'horse' and 'crossing lines', po undeniably means a horse with mixed colours (red spotted or streaked with white); a corresp. interpr. of huang is then also plausible. A is therefore preferable.

**392.** Ts'in kie k'i li 70.

A. Mao: li 71 = 72 (which builds on Erya 75), expounding this further by quoting Yili: Shī hun li 73: \*The mother applies the fastening string (of the dress) and ties the kerchief (to the girdle). Mao seems to take both li 71 and 74 to mean 'kerchief'. Thus our line: The mother ties her kerchief. — B. Kuo P'o in comm. to the Erya entry 75 says 76: 'that is the perfume-satchel of our time'. Thus: "The mother ties the girdle-satchel». Kuo must have thought that Erya's 74 was equal to 77 'perfumesatchel'(Ch'u: Li sao). — C. Shuowen: we i 74 = 78 'knee-cover'. This occurs in Mu T'ien tsī chuan, and was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). If this we i 74 is the word in the Erya gloss 75, we should have to translate: The mother ties her knee-cover». — D. Han (ap. comm. to Wsüan): li 71 = 79 'sash', thus: The mother ties her sash. — There are no early text par. for 71. Yet the rite is obviously the same in our ode as in the Yili passage 73, which speaks in favour of li 71 being equal to 80 'kerchief' (A). Moreover, A and C are reconcilable, for Fang yen says that the knee-cover called 74 in some dialects is called 81 'the great kerchief' in other dialects. It is therefore a question of a big kerchief, fastened at the girdle and hanging down so as to cover the knees.

#### Ode CLVII: P'o fu.

393. Sīkuo shī huang 82.

A. Mao: h u a n g 83 = 84 'to correct, to regulate', thus: \*The four states, them he corrected\*. This builds on Erya 85. Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü 86: \*How will there be leisure for correcting Tsin\*. — B. Ts'i (ap. Wang Ying-lin, Shī k'ao) reads 87, meaning same as in A. — C. Another school (ap. Fa yen: Sien chī) reads 88. Whether 89 here is a short-form for k'u a n g 84, or has to be read wan g (\*the four states, them he ruled over\*) is uncertain. — 83 is a loan char. for a homophonous \*g'wâng / ywâng / h u a n g, possibly cognate to 84 \*k'iwang / k'iwang / k' u a n g 'to correct, to regulate'. It is supported by a good early text par. (86).

394. St. 1. Yu k'üe wo k'i 90.

A. Mao: k'i 91 (\*g'ia / g'jig / k'i) = 92 'a kind of chisel'. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): k'i 91 = 93, whatever this means, see below.

St. 2. Yu k'üe wo k'iu 94.

**A.** Mao: k'iu 95 (\*g'igg / g'igu / k'iu) = 93, whatever this means, see below. — **B.** Han (ap. Shïwen) k'iu 95 = 92 'a kind of chisel'.

There are two difficulties here. First, Mao and Han have inverted the glosses of k'i and k'iu. Secondly, mu shu 93 — whether referring to k'i 91 or to k'iu 95 — is hard to explain: a. Chu takes it simply to mean 'tree' (wood) as in Engl. axle-tree, spade-tree etc. Thus: »We splintered our trees» (wooden implement: shafts? clubs?). But if so, the formulation mu shu 93 'a kind of tree' is somewhat unnatural. —  $\beta$ . Hu Ch'eng-kung thinks that 96 (\*muk) is a short-form for 97 \*ngo / nguo / wu, defined by Shuowen as = 'a double-edged hoe'; thus: »We splintered our hoes». 97 occurs in no early text (yet Fang yen, W. Han colloquial, has a 98 \*ngo /

nguo / w u with this sense). That both the Mao school and the Han school should abbreviate a 97 \*ngo into 96 \*muk is so unlikely as to be practically excluded. — y. Ch'en Huan thinks that mu shu 93 stands for 99 'wooden handle'. But he fails to draw the consequence that ts'o shu 92 then should mean 'chisel's handle'; and even so, the obvious parallelism between mu shu 93 and ts'o shu 92 could not be maintained ('wooden handle': 'chisel's handle' are not really par.). — The comm. are so contradictory and obscure as to give no sufficient point d'appui. But we can prove by text par. that both k'i 91 and k'i u 95 were some kinds of chisel. K'i u 'chisel' occurs in Kuan: K'ing chung 2, in an enumeration of a cartwright's tools: 100. And k'i 91 (\*g'ia / g'jig / k'i, even tone) should be compared to 1 'crooked chisel' (used for wood-carving), cf. Huai: Pen king, phr. 2: Nowhere to apply his crooked chisel. 3 in Ts'ie yün is \*kia / kjig / k i, but the word is still colloquially living, and several modern dialects have forms (e. g. Hakka 3 k'i in lower even tone) which reveal a \*g'ia / g'jie / k' i, id. with our 91 here. Consequently our lines mean: St. 1, phr. 90: And we splintered our crooked chisels, st. 2, phr. 94: And we splintered our chisels. 395. Sī kuo shī ts'iu 4.

A. Mao: t s'iu = 5 (\*dz'igu / t s'iu) = 6 'strong, solid, to consolidate', thus: The four states, them he consolidated. — B. Cheng: t s'iu = 5 'to collect, bring together', thus: The four states, them he brought together (under his sway); cf. C. next. — C. Another schol (ap. Ts'uei Ling-en's Tsi chu) reads 8. This 9 (\*dz'igg / dz'igu / t s'iu) means 'to collect, bring together', meaning as in B. — We must compare:

Ode 304. Po lu shī ts'iu 10. A. Mao: ts'iu 5 = 11 'to collect', thus: \*All the dignities (felicities) he collected\* (brought together on his person), par. to next st. phr. 12. — B. Shuowen reads 13, defined as = 14 'to bundle, bind together' (Erya = 11, 'to collect'). This 9 = 'to bundle' was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). When in Li: Hiang yin tsiu li we find 15, Cheng thinks 16 should be read 9: \*Ts'iu 17 (\*ts'iôg) autumn means ts'iu 9 (\*dz'iôg) to collect\*. — It is clear that Mao's ts'iu 5 both in our ode 157, phr. 4, and in ode 304, phr. 10 simply is a loan char. for this 9, such as other schools have it.

Ode CLVIII: Fa ko.

Pien tou yu tsien, see gl. 233.

Ode CLIX: Kiu yü.

**396.** Yüju sin ch'u *18*.

A. Mao:  $\sin 19 = \text{'to stay two nights'}$ . This is common, e. g. ode 284, phr. 20.

 Thus: He stays with you two nights. — B. Cheng: sin 19: 'truly, surely' (common), thus: He surely is staying with you. — Par. with this in st. 3 we have 21, where it is clear that it is a question of staying at night. Hence A is preferable.

#### Ode CLX: Lang po.

397. Kung sun shī fu 22.

A. Mao: Kung sun = 'the grandson of the prince', adding that this refers to king Ch'eng of Chou, being grandson of 23 the prince of Pin. — B. Cheng reads 24 = 25 (this short-form is common, e. g. in Li: Nei tsê, Tsī yi, Ju hing etc.), thus: "The prince is humble", adding that this refers to Chou Kung. — There is, of course, no reason whatever to connect the ode with either Ch'eng wang or Chou kung. The binome kung-sun 'prince's grandson' was exceedingly common — in Lu it became a regular family name — and the rhythm of the line decides that it is a binome here as well (with A). The line thus means: "The prince's grandson is great and beautiful".

398. Ch'ī si ki ki 26.

A. Mao: k i k i 27 = 28 'the appearance of the shoe-nose ornaments». These 30 (ex. in Li: T'an kung; in Chouli wr. 30) were made of tressed silk, and rose stud-like upwards. K i 27 means 'small stool' (a stump, a stud). Thus: •His red slippers are (\*stool-like• =) stud-adorned•. — B. Another school. Kuang ya has an entry: k i k i 27 = 31 'ample', which probably refers to this ode. Thus: \*His red slippers are (ample =) rich\*. No text par. — C. Chu: k i k i 27 = 32 'quiet and grave', thus: \*How dignified (he is in his) red slippers\*. No text par. — D. Shuowen reads 33. This 34\*k'ăn | k'ăn | k'i e n means 'solid' (ex. in Chuang), thus: \*His red slippers are solid\*. Yet whereas 27\*kiɛr | kji | k i of A makes a good rime here (riming with 35\*miwər), \*k'ăn would be a very poor rime, so this version is obviously inferior. — No reason to abandon A.

## GLOSSES ON THE SIADYA, TA YA AND SUNG ODES

Ode 161. Shi wo Chou hing gl. 12. 163. Wo ma wei k'i gl. 364; 164. Cheng ye wu jung gl. 387. 165. Chung ho ts'ie p'ing gl. 79. 167. pi ni wei ho gl. 264; Hien yün k'ung ki gl. 354. 168. Ch'u kü pang pang gl. 218. 171. Cheng jan cho cho gl. 387. 173. Ling lu sü hi gl. 298. 174. Yen yen ye yin gl. 316; tsai tsung tsai k'ao gl. 160; k'i shī li li gl. 196. 177. Wo shī yung ki gl. 354; Hien yün fei ju gl. 66. 178. Yüe k'i ts'o heng gl. 152; t'an t'an t'un gl. 390. 179. Süan t'u hiao hiao gl. 68; liang ts'an pu yi gl. 370; yu yu pei tsing gl. 90. 180. Yu lu yü yü gl. 110; k'i k'i k'ung yu gl. 39; piao piao sī sī gl. 170. 181. Su su k'i yü gl. 25. 185. Mi so chī kü gl. 142; mi so ti chī gl. 142; yu mu chī shī yung gl. 43. 189. Chī chī sī kan gl. 160, 317; ju chu pao yi gl. 365; ju shī sī ki gl. 354. 190. K'i küe chī chī gl. 21 191. Yu shī k'i yi gl. 370; pu yi k'ung wo shī gl. 372; shī yüe sī sheng gl. 103. 198. Min mien ts'ung shī gl. 95; chī king yu jen gl. 286; yu yu wo li gl. 90. 194. Jung ch'eng pu t'uei, ki ch'eng pu suei gl. 184. 195. Ju fei hing mai mou gl. 357; kuo suei mi chī gl. 142. 196. Kiao kiao sang hu gl. 321. 197. Kuei fei ch'ï ch'ï gl. 271; ni yen ju tao gl. 35; fa mu ki yi gl. 370; kün tsī wu yi yu yen gl. 200. 198. Fei k'i chī kung gl. 142; chỉ chỉ ta yu gl. 317; chỉ wei luan kie gl. 286. 199. Shỉ jen wang ki gl. 182.

信信27於女信覆24公孫碩膚21幽公24孫25遜26赤烏几几24几24约兒24約26句20 盛27安重33赤鳥擎緊34军35尾



200. Shuei ti (shī) vũ mou gl. 194. 202. Hao t'ien wang ki gl. 182. 203. Tiao tiao kung tsī gl. 237; k'i k'i wu t'an gl. 82; chī lao pu lai gl. 286; chung jī ts'i siang gl. 215; huan pi k'ien niu gl. 87. 205. Si mu pang pang gl. 218; wang shi peng peng gl. 218. 207. Kie er king fu gl. 374. 208. Huai vün pu wang gl. 110 a. 209. Ch'u ch'u chê ts'ī gl. 360; tsi tsi ts'iang ts'iang, gl. 263, 266; yi kie king fu gl. 374. 211. Yi kie wo tsi shu gl. 374; chung shan ts'ie yu gl. 79. 212. Hing yü k'i k'i gl. 39. 214. K'i ye sü hi gl. 298. 215. Shou fu pu no gl. 188; pi kiao fei ao gl. 357. 218. Tê yin lai kuo gl. 198. 219. Ch'an jen wang ki gl. 182. 220. Tso yu chī chī gl. 317; pien tou vu ch'u gl. 360; yu jen yu lin gl. 72. 221. Yu no k'i kü gl. 188. 222. Pi fu hien ts'üan gl. 366; pi kiao fei shu gl. 357. 223. Wu sü yüan yi gl. 298; yü süe piao piao gl. 170; shī ku lu kiao, gl. 289, 224. Shang ti shen tao gl. 288. 227. Yu vu nan hing gl. 90. 228. Si sang yu o, k'i ye yu no gl. 188; hia pu wei yi gl. 52, 111. 229. Chī tsī pu yu gl. 277; siao ko shang huai gl. 58. 238. K'i ye tsing tsing gl. 155. 235. Tsi tsi to shī gl. 263. 236. Sī yüan pang pang gl. 218. 237. Tsī T'u Ts'ü Tsi gl. 300: vũ vũc vụ pen tsou gl. 333. 238. Tsi tsi pi wang gl. 263. 239. Sê pi vũ tsan gl. 153; sê pi tso yü gl. 153. 241. Yü huai ming tê 110 a. 243. Pu hia yu tso gl. 111. 244. Fei ki k'i yü gl. 354. 245. Shī fang shī pao gl. 365; shī fa shī siu gl. 371. 246. T'uan pi hing wei gl. 390; fang pao fang t'i gl. 365. 247. Kie er chao ming gl. 374. 248. Fu lu lai ch'ung gl. 140. 249. Tê yin chĩ chĩ gl. 317. 250. Ki king nai kang gl. 138. 252. Fei lu er k'ang yi gl. 45; huei huei k'i yü gl. 171; wei yi suei ko gl. 184. 253. Yi kin wang ki gl. 182. 254. Wu jan yi yi gl. 88; hao t'ien yüe tan 186. 255. Ki k'ien er chī gl. 142. 256. Yi chī wei tsi gl. 286: huang tan yü tsiu gl. 287; tsī sun sheng sheng gl. 20; pu hia yu k'ien gl. 111; pei min ta ki gl. 354. 257. K'i hia hou sün gl. 222; shuei neng chī jê, shī pu yi cho gl. 76; yi nien k'iung ts'ang gl. 372; cheng yi chung kou gl. 130; min chī wang ki gl. 182; chī tao wei k'ou gl. 286. 258. Sien tsu yü ts'uei gl. 113; min mien wei k'ü gl. 95. Sī mu kue kue gl. 169. 260. Ai mo chu chī gl. 115; sī mu pang pang gl. 218. 261. Pien tou yu tsü gl. 360; po liang pang pang gl. 218; k'i k'i ju yün gl. 39. 262. Lai sün lai süan gl. 222. 263. P'u tun Huai fen gl. 112; ju shan chī pao gl. 365; wang yu yün sê gl. 73. 264. Shī kiu er hou gl. 103. 265. Huei huei, huei yü gl. 101; wu pu huei chī gl. 101; chī huang sī yin gl. 286. 270. T'ai wang huang chī gl. 287. 273. Huai jou po shen gl. 110 a. 274. Tsī pi Ch'eng K'ang gl. 300. 275. Mo fei er ki gl. 182. 276. Lai tsī lai ju gl. 66. 278 Chen lu gl. 18. 282 Kie yi fan chī gl. 374. 286. K'iung k'iung tsai kiu gl. 299. 287. Wu hu, yu tsai gl. 90. 288. Chī kiang küe shī gl. 274. 293. Shī yung ta kie gl. 374; kiao kiao wang chī tsao gl. 169. 297. Yi kü pang pang gl. 218; yu sing yu k'i gl. 364. 298. Chen chen lu gl. 18. 299. Luan sheng huei huei gl. 171; k'i ma kiao kiao gl. 169; kiao kiao hu ch'en gl. 169; kiung pi Huai Yi gl. 125. 301. Yi yü no yü gl. 188; T'ang sun tsou kia gl. 333; yung ku yu yi gl. 9. 302. Tsung kia wu yen gl. 333. 303. Cheng yü pi sī fang gl. 304; chao yü pi sī hai gl. 304; lai kia k'i k'i gl. 39. 304. Shuai li pu yüe gl. 250; fu cheng yu yu gl. 346; po lu shī ts'iu gl. 395; pao yu san nie gl. 365. 305. T'a pi Yin Wu gl. 237; lü ying yu hien gl. 153.

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上1811年137、227.200 732中104年115月20乎220 来177年107云230交20仇 2,255介770多/12年107任2 他的伯ng似257侍201代17来286m6但m信s50m何ng视免的情概使301值31/便,201倡ns 151待48傷55/催/3偽36間57億38繳55個42優39個5個5個5個成版55機加公22再35華 /5/ 315年 /51 色如原 32展 4 36 公 14 反 26 艾 217 受 批权 338 周 /2 30 交 业 恒 /5 真 238 香 30 217 20 磁 206 唯如哇西省,喜欢喧欢喽双喝双喽双嚼双喽只喂奶喽~嗷双嘴双掌。上知寺如佑似 单21.1域测量7.1壁/10工21/27主22义/6线x/天23.34克4奏355奔157架&奥/19如27套和 铁 w 差 157 线 K5 姿 354 娱 w 获 25 量 100 姿 554 婉 m 地 20 / 15 现 经 20/ 榆 20/ 发 18 埃 354 编 359 旋 如猫 sry Musica ru 提 m 提 m 模 m 奏 要 s 表 s 更 m 死 m 25. 350 鱼 s + 曼 us 产 22 径 m 率 72 空。重四霉似胃炽炽器的射。粉红织细的砂厂的层层层的屋如屋如此已经知过 25点如差20 双性/的性/的干 27/10点27式的第四程/37彭21组织传动的17使内借处挥 中心思心图 知怕如您的姐妹那怪小樱姐妈奶点红檀的墙水偷的爱心惶如焰姐姐的 聞 35 情 9 惨 44 懂 20 保 30 惺 30 惺 30 展 35 题 34 樓 40 式 40 戒 39 威 20 截 30 展 1/0扒47扶9.抽到招9拜9排2730括31/括711振/8据312室311控4134提37擎35揭3120/ 从施川200旁216旅/10族以及荷川旦州35532旭32时,星/31晤37景/27/31膜如电视会/10 175/93 307 有208朋297服 4 98 料 44 紀 320杜380枚 384菜/35 255杯335 张 249 369棘354 / 植33/ 極 1/40 253 棣口業验模奶型的架心學以慣《架奶競似權助止心珍似般的公奶毁公园的存如 锚20保水永2225万// 池20泥5冲的沃35派3/冷25港8地336石319泊84.222洹245洗的 洋/27征式批/18洒/23洩日流之/07浪的泥川扁知凄如漫红泥滑如洁日淡红相么渴如者 57清4. 浴如浴细湿如湮蚀漾地溢烟潜水澗~漫水淡烟澳水流烟潭如滚烟酒烟 261滴24灌 : 渡加滿川流沿道25瀏245灌 6 243 鴻滩 22瀾24约如约24炯4短54至387烈24 nz狡zo猗ng 188 320猫zn磷zs璜业批//>>>>透水瑕//)建/nz瑣//c璊z/0甡/7由200甲//2町spet 196留107211着74星36睡期童4厘的瘦月瘪月疮月糜灯柴奶袋月15级36里加奶被加盤45篮 奶直加肝细相似的仍看细眼的脱现象犯的星级知识做只容如磷如代如视树 的似跳参加租圾积奶税,40径的植现就现料的機,4健,免的等现薪,靠,童妇竹 加筑的陈儿箐的简白的暴水聚山粼湖料 / 20紀 20秋/28春期处到批的轮的船级终 79 纲似组织继加绞奶绢加绥加基双缚加线的缀似绿加绵双繩的微似縞如鼍双鱵 100K12 114 19 13 16 514 剪 4. 荆 35 脚 172 考 100 取 64 耶 45 職 216 職 25 54 377 胥 212 能 187 脱 60 脩 201

34機对自30含23般的芒5带50克35百25百35万35茄35克35英4,273萬47,213茄4花55 茂山茸似莠37苯17荷350克35苯/> 菜15商// 菜15克35克35克50克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/> 菜15克35克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/> 菜15克35克4/ 温期間55克31克4克2000,30行20份12件的样的格的提出個55聚4提27存为福班愈加聚 15克35使6人性解釋期預20包5 配如廣30合352計24台352計13款7克約25,17,100管 20能均等期到53月及活力證13該35警35變超量25配20級 (2)前页25型 (1)資25型 (1)资25型 (1)资25型